

LIFE

OF

BISHOP HEBER

VOL. I



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MAP OF
CALABRIA, SALERNO,
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ISLE of SICILY.

L I F E
O F
REGINALD HEBER, D.D.



The Phillips Esq. R.A. Pinx.

Saml. Cousins Sculp.

THE RIGHT REV.TH REGINALD HEBER, D.D.

Lord Bishop of Calcutta



Indira Gandhi National
Centre for the Arts

THE
L I F E
OF
REGINALD HEBER, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

BY HIS WIDOW.

WITH
SELECTIONS
FROM HIS
CORRESPONDENCE, UNPUBLISHED POEMS, AND PRIVATE PAPERS;
TOGETHER WITH
A JOURNAL OF HIS TOUR
IN
NORWAY, SWEDEN, RUSSIA, HUNGARY AND GERMANY,
AND
A HISTORY OF THE COSSAKS.

IN TWO VOLUMES,
VOL. I.

LONDON:
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MDCCCXXX.


1830



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TO
JOHN THORNTON, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR,

I cannot gratify my own feelings more than by inscribing the following pages to my husband's dearest friend. The grave has had no power to interrupt the attachment which bound you to him from your earliest years; and the memory of his gifted mind and of his virtuous heart is cherished by you with all a brother's affection. You will, therefore, feel a deep, though melancholy gratification, at receiving this attempt made by his widow to exhibit to others what it was your privilege to know and appreciate. You need no assurance of the unchanging regard which, in the full maturity of his character, he continued to entertain for the beloved companion of his boyhood and of his youth.

AMELIA HEBER.

11, Clarence Terrace, London,
May 1st, 1830.



P R E F A C E.

IT has been the editor's wish, in this publication, to portray her husband's character from the dawn to the close of his life ; to trace its gradual developement ; to follow him through the course of an active, though private life ; and, finally, to represent him in the high and responsible station to which he was called, where all the energies of his powerful mind, and all the influence which his talents and his virtues enabled him to exercise over his fellow-creatures were employed in forwarding the great object for which he rejoiced to labour, and for which he was content to die.

Without the help of the kind friends who have allowed her to select from the Bishop's private correspondence such letters as seemed fitted to promote this object, the editor could never have hoped to accomplish it. If, in executing her task, she has done justice to the virtues of him whom they loved, and for whose loss they still mourn, she feels that they will deem themselves more amply repaid for their kindness, than by the most public acknowledgement of her thanks. To Sir Robert Harry Inglis, however, more is due. On one important point, the editor has considered herself bound to act in opposition to his advice. She has, therefore, an additional reason to be grateful for the undiminished activity and zeal with



which he has again encouraged and assisted her in the publication of her husband's works.

There is one point on which the editor wishes to be allowed the expression of her opinion. Her loss invests her with the melancholy privilege of raising her feeble voice in support of the forcible representations made in the memorials to Government, which are included in the appendix to the second volume, on the necessity of dividing the see of Calcutta. Few can better estimate the weight of responsibility which this diocese imposes upon an individual; and no one else can bear such witness to the mental labour and anxiety which it caused to her husband. He himself, zealous as he was to discharge all its duties to the utmost, at the expence of domestic happiness, of health, and of life itself, was deeply convinced of the necessity of such a division. He never complained, even to his wife, of his own discomfort or fatigue; but he was anxious for assistance, because he felt that no one, however great his energy, or however entire his devotion to his task, can do all, or near all, that ought to be done in the great field of usefulness presented by the Indian bishoprick; a field which, to the glory of God, is enlarging every day. That such an impossibility is not merely imaginary, must be apparent to any who reflect that, not only the spiritual interests of the Indian continent and of Ceylon, but those of New South Wales, including Van Diemen's Land and its dependancies, of the Mauritius, of the Cape of Good Hope, and, by a recent enactment, even of Madeira, are committed to the charge of the Bishop of Calcutta.

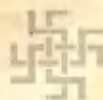
It has been urged that the duties of the Governor-General far outweigh those of the Bishop, and yet have never been thought too much for a single individual. But, not to mention the subordinate governors of

Madras and Bombay, who relieve the Indian viceroy from the administration of so large a portion of the empire, it should be remembered that the "Governor-General *in Council*" has, as the expression implies, a certain number of coadjutors experienced in the affairs of the country, and that without the concurrence of a majority of these, no measure can be determined upon; so that a portion of the responsibility devolves upon them. He has also public and private secretaries appointed by Government; his sway is confined to India, without comprehending Ceylon, Australasia, the Mauritius, the Cape, or Madeira: nor has the argument that a single sovereign is sufficient for an extensive empire, ever been held sufficient to demonstrate that a single bishop must be so likewise.

Compared with the Governor-General, the Bishop of Calcutta has many other disadvantages; he has not only to act entirely on his own responsibility; but almost every official document connected with his vast diocese must be written with his own hand, while in consequence his private affairs are either neglected, or devolve upon some person, if such should be found, in his own family. A public secretary and a chaplain, it is true, are allowed him by Government; but as the former has hitherto been engaged, at the same time, in the important offices of registrar to the archdeaconry and proctor to the supreme court, he has been unable to afford more than nominal assistance. Though a private chaplain, too, might relieve him from some of his ordinary ceremonial duties, yet, not to speak of the circumstances which, for nearly two whole years, deprived Bishop Heber of this aid, and which are but too likely to recur, there are so few clergymen in India, that there may easily be a call for the chaplain's services at a distant station, to which, accordingly, the Bishop would feel himself bound to send him, however great the personal inconvenience thus incurred.

Three invaluable lives have already fallen by this kind of voluntary

martyrdom. Men, ready to make the same sacrifice, will, it is to be hoped, through God's blessing on His Church, always be found. But are such the lives we should be heedless and unscrupulous about throwing away? Or can we be said to feel a due regard for the well-being of our brethren in India, while we carry our economy to such a pitch, that we will not allow any one to undertake the care of their spiritual interests, unless he is willing to engage in a task for which no human strength can be equal, and to encounter the almost inevitable risk of sinking under the burthen in the very first years of his ministry?



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L I F E

OF

R E G I N A L D H E B E R .

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THE family of Heber, or Hayber, as the word appears from some original papers in Bolton Abbey to have been formerly written, and is still vulgarly pronounced, is of considerable antiquity in the county of York, and is supposed to derive its name from a hill in Craven, called Hayber or Haybergh¹. The estate of Marton, originally purchased from its ancient owners of that name, by Thomas Heber, was, for many generations, the residence of his descendants, and is still in the possession of Richard Heber, Esq.

CHAP.
I.
1728.

Reginald Heber, second son of Thomas Heber and Elizabeth Atherton, his wife, was born in the year 1728. On his elder bro-

¹ Whitaker's History of Craven.—In Elizabeth's reign, an official certificate was granted from the Herald's College, to Reginald Heber of Marton, of the arms acknowledged to have been previously borne by the family, viz. “party per fess B and G, a lion rampant, Or; in the dexter chief point a cinquefoil A. Crest, out of a ducal coronet, Or, a woman's head and shoulders proper, in profile, crined Or.”



CHAP.
I.
1783.

ther's death, without heirs male, he succeeded him as lord of the manors, and patron of the rectories of Marton, in Yorkshire, and of Hodnet, in the county of Salop, which last estate had, by intermarriage with the house of Vernon, come into the possession of the family. He married first, Mary, co-heiress of the Rev. Martin Baylie, rector of Wrentham, in Suffolk, who died, leaving one son, Richard, late M.P. for the University of Oxford; secondly, Mary, daughter of Cuthbert Allanson, D.D., by whom he left three children, Reginald, Thomas Cuthbert, and Mary.

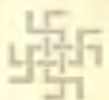
Reginald, the lamented subject of this memoir, was born April 21st, 1783, at Malpas, in the county of Chester, of which his father was for many years co-rector. His early childhood was distinguished by mildness of disposition, obedience to his parents, consideration for the feelings of those around him, and by that trust in God's providence which formed, through life, so prominent a part of his character. When little more than two years old, he was dangerously ill with the hooping-cough, for which he was ordered to be bled: his mother took him on her knees, saying, "Dr. Currie wishes you to lose a little blood; I hope you will not object:" his answer was, "I will do whatever you please, mamma." On the nurse screaming out that they were going to murder her child, "Poor ——," Reginald said, "let her go down stairs." The apothecary then took hold of his arm, on which he exclaimed, "Do not hold me;" when assured that if he moved, he would be much more hurt, "I won't stir," he replied, and steadily held out his arm, looking the whole time at the operation.

The following year, when travelling with his parents in a very stormy day, across the mountainous country between Ripon and Craven, his mother was much alarmed, and proposed to leave the carriage and walk. Reginald, sitting on her knee, said, "Do not be afraid mamma, God will take care of us." These words spoken, as she herself expressed it, "by the infant monitor, carried with them conviction to her heart, which forty-three years of joy and sorrow had not effaced." In 1787, he had an attack of inflammation of the lungs, and was very dangerously ill; the severe reme-

dies to which he was forced to submit, were borne without a murmur, and his patience was so remarkable, that on his father asking the physician whether there was any hope of saving his life, Dr. Currie answered, "If he were not the most tractable child I ever saw there would be none; but I think he will recover." In childhood he suffered much from inflammatory disorders; the hours of convalescence were invariably employed in endeavouring to acquire information; and at six years old, after an attack of typhus fever which again nearly brought him to the grave, the first indulgence for which he pleaded was to learn the Latin grammar, that he might have some employment while lying in bed. He could read the Bible with fluency at five years old, and even then, was remarkable for the avidity with which he studied it, and for his accurate knowledge of its contents. A discussion had one day, about this time, arisen in his absence between his father and some friends as to the book in the Old Testament in which a particular passage was to be found. On Reginald's entering the room, his father referred the question to him, when he at once named both the book and the chapter.

It was by Mr. Heber's direction that the Bible was first put into his hands, in preference to any abridgment of it, in order that he might become more familiar with its beautiful language, and more ready in applying it. The memory with which he was endowed enabled him fully to profit by this system; and its effects were visible in the piety which marked his youth, and was his distinguishing characteristic through life. A trifling anecdote will serve to prove his intimate acquaintance with the Sacred Volume; when he was about seven years old a party of his young companions were amusing themselves with riddles and cross questions in the room where he was reading. His attention was attracted by the question, "Where was Moses when his candle went out?" "On Mount Nebo," was Reginald's immediate reply; "for there he died, and it may well be said that his lamp of life went out."

He very early became sensible of the necessity and importance of prayer, and was frequently overheard praying aloud in his own



CHAP.
I.
1789.

room, when he little thought himself within reach of observation. His sense of his entire dependance upon God, and of thankfulness for the mercies which he received, was deep, and almost an instinct planted in his nature; to his latest hour, in joy as in sorrow, his heart was ever lifted up in thankfulness for the goodness of his Maker, or bowed in resignation under His chastisements; and his first impulse, when afflicted or rejoicing, was to fall on his knees in thanksgiving, or in intercession for himself, and for those he loved, through the mediation of his Saviour.

He had a considerable talent for drawing, especially for architectural designs; and the juvenile sketches, almost entirely from fancy, which have been preserved by his family, bear strong marks of genius, and give promise of the superiority to which, with little or no instruction, he afterwards attained in that art. The study of natural history was also a favourite pursuit; and he was fond of exercising his powers of observation in watching the changes of insects, and the various habits of animals and birds; but the kindness of his heart would never permit him to keep any creatures in confinement, far less to gratify his curiosity at the expense of their sufferings. When his little sister had a squirrel given her, he persuaded her to set it at liberty, taking her to a tree, that she might see the animal's joy at being restored to freedom. His mind seemed never to be at rest; and occasionally, when with his playfellows, he would remain silent, absorbed in his own meditations, and insensible to every thing around him. As his memory retained the information he acquired from every possible source, so, as his understanding strengthened, he corrected the errors into which his almost unassisted researches in various branches of knowledge naturally led him. From a child he was inquisitive, always eager to obtain instruction, and never above asking the opinions of others, but with a modesty of manner, and evident anxiety to acquire knowledge, which prevented his being thought intrusive, and ensured him the attention of those with whom he conversed. To this habit, persevered in through life, he attributed much of the desultory knowledge which he acquired; and the editor has fre-

quently heard him remark, that he never met with a person, however deficient in general attainments, from whom he could not acquire some instructive information: for he possessed the rare art of inducing people, apparently without design, to converse upon such subjects as they were best acquainted with, and on which they were, consequently, most able to appear with advantage.

CHAP.
I.
1789.

It was a common saying among the servants of the family, that "Master Reginald never was in a passion." It is not, of course, intended to assert that he was insensible to the natural emotions of anger and disappointment, but that even in childhood he had so completely acquired the habit of subduing the outward expression of these feelings, that he was never heard to raise his voice in anger, or to use an impatient expression. Emotions of a more tender nature he had considerable difficulty in suppressing; but from the sorrow of the boy on leaving his parents for school, to that of the man on parting from all he had early loved, to embark for a distant and dangerous country, and under all the afflictions with which his life was chequered, such was the command he had obtained over himself, that, save by a glistening of the eye, or an increased paleness, only those who were acquainted with the unbounded tenderness of his heart and the strength of his feelings, could estimate what he was suffering.

Reading was his principal amusement from the time he knew his letters; his elder brother, to whose affectionate superintendence through life of his graver studies, he justly considered himself much indebted, used to say, "Reginald did more than read books, he devoured them;" and when thus occupied, it was with difficulty that his attention could be withdrawn. At almost a single glance his eye embraced the contents of a whole page; and these were so strongly impressed upon his memory, that, years after, he was able to repeat the substance of what he then read; while such passages as more particularly struck him, were attentively perused once, and remembered through life with verbal accuracy.

Mr. Heber's library was small; and it was one of Reginald's



CHAP.
I.
1790.

greatest indulgences to visit Dr. Townson, Rector of the lower mediety of Malpas, and look over his books, especially his engravings. This he was never allowed to do in Dr. Townson's absence, for, besides that he then placed little value on books after having once stored his mind with their contents, and was in consequence careless in his treatment of them, Dr. Townson was fond of answering his questions, and of giving him such instruction as was fitted for his age. His father, himself an excellent scholar, taught him the rudiments of classical learning; his application and quickness were such, that at seven years old he had translated Phædrus into English verse. The following year he was placed at the grammar school of Whitchurch under Dr. Kent; and here a singular instance occurred of that perfect power of abstraction of which his mind was capable. He had remained in the school-room one day after the usual school hours, to enjoy a new book which had just been given him, and so completely was he abstracted in it, that he was not the least aware of a "barring out," which, with all its accompanying noise and confusion, had been going on for a couple of hours round him, and of which he became conscious as the increasing darkness forced him to lay down his book.

The diffidence natural to young and ingenuous minds, and usually observed to accompany genius, was conspicuous in his character; his youthful attempts at poetical composition were kept in secret, and discovered by accident. He was fond of reading and reciting poetry, but, as a boy, had no claim to elegance of delivery; in his brother he had, however, an example which he had discernment to value; and he used to listen to his recitations with attention, and endeavour to imitate his tones and manner of repeating verses.

In 1796 he was placed under the care of Mr. Bristow, a clergyman who took about twelve pupils at Neasdon, in the neighbourhood of London. It was here that an intimacy commenced between him and Mr. John Thornton, eldest son of Samuel Thornton, late M.P. for Surry, which soon ripened into a friendship cemented by religious feelings, and by a similarity of

tastes and pursuits : and, although in after life they were necessarily much separated by the duties of their respective professions, that friendship was preserved and increased by constant correspondence, and ever glowed with undiminished warmth in the breast of him, who, having been early removed from this world, now awaits a reunion with his friend in the mansions of bliss.

The editor of these volumes has Mr. Thornton's authority for saying, that although Reginald Heber, while at Neasdon, may have been occasionally led into trivial errors, yet was he perfectly free from any serious faults ; and, amid the jarring feelings, and, in some instances, depraved dispositions of his school-fellows, he was the boy to whom all the well-disposed looked with deference, and the tendency of whose example was to give a tone of rectitude to the school, and to command the approbation even of those who could estimate excellence in another, though themselves incapable of imitating it.

His natural benevolence and charitableness were fostered, and, as far as possible, directed by his parents. Though much disliking cards, he would occasionally, when at home, join in a round game with his young companions, because it was the rule of his family to give the winnings to the poor ; and he was always ready to promote every plan which was suggested for such an object. Of his own money he was so liberal, it was found necessary to sew the bank notes given him for his half-year's pocket-money at school, within the lining of his pockets, that he might not give them away in charity on the road. On one occasion, before this precaution had been taken, he gave all the money he possessed to a poor man who stated that he was a clergyman, but that, having lost his sight, he lost his curacy, and his means of subsistence. This person afterwards found his way to Malpas, and from his recognition by the servant who had attended Reginald to school, this act of beneficence was made known to his parents, for of his own deeds he never boasted ; and, as was remarked by the old servant, who mentioned the circumstance, " his left hand knew not what his right hand did."



CHAP.
I.
1796

During the early part of his residence at Neasdon, he had been reading an account of the manner in which one of our African travellers had successfully parried the attack of a wild bull. There happened to be grazing in a field adjoining to Mr. Bristow's garden a bull of no very peaceable disposition. Reginald resolved on making a similar experiment with this animal, and advanced towards it, holding his hat before his face, and acting all the gesticulations of which he had been reading, fully anticipating its instant flight. On the contrary, the bull ran furiously at him, and he only escaped by jumping over some rails into the garden. In this garden was a pool of water, divided from the rails by a narrow gravel walk, into which the bull, not being active enough to turn short round like his adversary, plunged, and after floundering forwards for some time, remained sticking fast in the mud with his head not many feet from an alcove on the opposite side, in which sat, quietly at their tea, Mr. and Miss Bristow, little expecting such a visitor.

For the following account of Reginald's habits and pursuits, the editor is indebted to Mr. Thornton, who was his class-fellow during the three years they were together at Neasdon.

"Reginald was endowed by nature with a strong memory and a lively imagination, both of which had been cultivated to an extraordinary degree at the early age of thirteen, by the constant habit of employing a large part of his leisure hours in reading.

"He was not remarkable for quickness of apprehension, neither was he defective in it; but in this respect his class-fellows had sometimes the credit of surpassing him, in consequence of his frequently suffering his mind to wander to other subjects than those immediately before him.

"His superiority was however manifested by his compositions in prose and verse, but especially the latter. In his prose exercises there was a maturity of thought and a display of knowledge greatly beyond his years; and his verses were always spirited and original, or if any of the thoughts or expressions were bor-

rowed, they proceeded from sources little known to ordinary readers, and certainly not to his school-fellows. Spenser was always one of his favourite authors. With his *Faerie Queene*¹ in his pocket, he would sally forth on a long solitary walk, whilst his comrades were occupied with the common sports of school-boys, in which he seldom engaged. Yet he was by no means unpopular on this account. On the contrary, his invulnerable temper, his overflowing kindness of heart, his constant cheerfulness, and his inexhaustible power of entertaining his companions, secured to him the affection of all, whether older or younger than himself. In the long winter evenings, a group of boys was frequently formed round him, whilst he narrated some chivalrous history, or repeated ancient ballads, or told some wild tale, partly derived from books, and partly from his own invention².

“For the exact sciences, or for critical knowledge, Reginald had no taste. When asked the date of a particular event, he could seldom give it, but he always knew who were alive at the time of its occurrence, by whose agency it was brought about, and what were the important consequences that resulted from it. In like manner the structure of the ancient languages was to him a matter of secondary importance, which he attended to only as far as he was obliged by his school lessons and exercises.

“The sense of the author was eagerly grasped at by him, but the mere scaffolding of learning he only esteemed as the means of arriving at that sense. Fond, however, as he was of acquiring knowledge for its own sake, he was not insensible to the value of literary reputation; he often spoke with admiration of the distinguished scholars of past times, and used to say, that with such examples before him, idleness was inexcusable. Reginald also

¹ This admiration of the “*Faerie Queene*” he preserved in his maturer years; he seldom travelled without a volume of the same copy which he had at school, to read on the road.—
EDITOR.

² At a much later period he, in a similar manner, attracted his friends round him to listen to a romance of his own composition. “Tell us a story,” from any of the home circle, was immediately followed by long and ingenious histories, which the Editor now laments were not committed to paper, but were forgotten almost as soon as they were told.



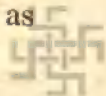
CHAP.
I.
1798.

felt the stimulus of emulation in his daily studies; but there was no want of generous feeling when he happened to be surpassed. Generosity was indeed an eminently conspicuous part of his character, not only as a boy, but in every period and relation of after life. Elevated by his intellectual pursuits and pleasures above the ordinary gratifications of school-boys, he had perhaps the less difficulty in resigning his share of them whenever a competition occurred. Self-denial in such matters seemed not to cost him an effort, and I do not recollect an occasion on which that preference of self, which, till subdued by religion, is so common to our nature, was ever evinced by him. Still, though of an unusually mild and yielding disposition, he was capable of being roused by oppression, and of making a vigorous resistance against it; and I well remember an instance, when, though sure of being worsted in the conflict by the superior strength of his adversary, he fought manfully for the purpose, as he said, of teaching his opponent that tyranny should not be practised on him with impunity.

“At this early period of his life, a reverence for every thing sacred, and a remarkable purity of thought, were eminent points in his character.

“Though many of his school-fellows were habitually profane and licentious in their conversation, their example had no influence on him, whilst his own had the most salutary effect on those who, but for him, would have been too weak to resist the torrent of vice to which they were daily exposed.”

Of the progress of Reginald's studies, his letters to his friend, who left the school some little time before his own removal to college, will give the best information. His reading the Bible was not interrupted by his classical pursuits. At the time of Buonaparte's invasion of Egypt, “The Battle of the Nile” was the subject given for a school exercise in the class to which he belonged; and the following are some of the verses which he wrote on that occasion, and which he the following year designated as “The Prophecy of Ishmael.”



THE PROPHECY OF ISHMAEL.

WHEN Buonaparte led his weary train
 Through the parch'd sands of Egypt's thirsty plain;
 Where erst around the Delta's fertile isle
 Flow'd the seven daughters of the silver Nile,
 Now chok'd with sand, their ancient glory fled,
 But four surviving, mourn their sisters dead;
 Where even fancy's eye can hardly trace
 The fallen splendour of the Coptic race;
 Where prostrate lies, mid tangled brakes of thorn,
 The harp that once spontaneous hailed the morn:
 Where Sesack's obelisk and Isis' bust,
 In mingled ruin moulder into dust;
 Where still the pyramids, from far descried,
 Remain the monuments of regal pride:
 While through these scenes the Gallic squadrons sped,
 And march'd o'er heaps of valiant Arabs dead;
 While yet with recent victory elate,
 Onward they mov'd in military state;
 From the rough rocks that border Barca's land
 A voice unearthly hailed the affrighted band.
 High on a hill that veiled its murky brow
 In clouds, and frown'd upon the plain below,
 Still fondly watchful o'er his children's good,
 The shade of Mecca's mighty founder stood.
 Confess'd he stood, known by his dauntless air,
 His bow, his fillet, and his length of hair.
 And, "Stay, ye fools," he cried, "ye madmen stay,
 Nor further prosecute your vent'rous way.
 Of Syria's sons full many a numerous host
 Their lives amid my burning sands have lost;
 There, led by Persia's tyrant, millions fell,
 Nor one surviv'd the dismal tale to tell.
 There first was check'd the Macedonian might,
 Repuls'd and baffled in th' unequal fight:
 My sons a barrier set to Roman pride,
 And many a legion by their arrows died;
 And now shall Gaul with conqu'ring armies come?
 Gaul! but a province of defeated Rome!
 Shall she expell, though far renown'd in fight,
 The sons of Ishmael from their ancient right?



CHAP.
I.
1799.

No, no; from me, ye robbers, learn your fate,
Lament and die, return is now too late.
Far, far from Gaul, full many a soldier brave
Shall, mid these rocks, unpitied find a grave:
Still, man by man, shall perish all your power,
And what the sword shall spare the plague devour."

* * * * *

During the summer holidays, when Reginald was about fourteen, his mother missed her "Companion to the Altar," and on enquiry being made, he brought it to her, saying, that he had had it about three weeks, and had spent many hours in reading it; that he had made himself master of its contents and thoroughly understood them, and begged to be allowed to accompany her to the Altar on the next Sacrament Sunday, to which his happy mother consented with tears of joy and affection. Who can wonder that this promising child was tenderly beloved by his parents, whose hearts expanded with gratitude to the Giver of all good for this, the choicest of His boons; or who shall estimate the sorrows of her, who having reared this treasure from infancy to manhood, had watched the blossoming of those opening buds, and seen them bring forth fruits of Heavenly growth, is left to weep over his early grave! Truly, "if in this life only we had hope, then were we most miserable."

To John Thornton, Esq.

Neasdon, Nov. 8, 1799.

"DEAR THORNTON,

"Your account of your mathematical progress quite frightens me. For my part, I confess I have in that particular been horridly idle, and have not done a single question in decimals since the holidays; nay, I don't believe I could find my book: however I am resolved to set about it to-day.

In Greek I go on in the old train, being now deep engaged in Longinus, Prometheus Vincit. and the Epistles with Locke's commentary; besides which, I read the "Essay on the Human Understanding" for two hours every evening after I have finished my

exercise. Locke, you know, I used to think very stupid; but I have now quite altered my opinion.

CHAP.
I.
1800.

"Last Tuesday, as being the 5th of November, was celebrated accordingly; but, as cash was low, and weather bad, we made a very poor figure; the ground about the fire was a perfect mire, so that W—— slipped as he was running after S——, and fell head over heels into the bonfire, where he was very near enacting Guy Fawkes. Mr. Bristow had company that evening who staid all night, and had very near caused another war, for as they breakfasted early, and had not been provided for, they eat up all our rolls, and the horror which seized W. R——, on learning that he was to breakfast on *bread* and butter, was little short of phrenzy. I had more to say, but your "loves of the triangles" stick so in my gizzard, that I must immediately begin to hunt for my "Tutor's Assistant." How long this whim will keep in my head is uncertain. At present it has full possession of your friend and imitator,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To John Thornton, Esq.

Neasdon, Feb. 22, 1800.

* * * * *

"We had tolerably pleasant holidays; you will laugh when I tell you that a *misochorist* like myself, was drawn into a party to a ball. They thought, I believe, to cure me of my antipathy to that kind of see-saw motion, but they have not succeeded; I dislike balls as much as ever.

"I believe you will remember young Bowler the baker, how he used always to read in his cart. I examined his books some days ago, and found they were Volney, Voltaire, and Godwin. These are the fruits of circulating libraries."



CHAP.
I.
1800.

To John Thornton, Esq.

Neasdon, Feb. 26, 1800.

“DEAR THORNTON,

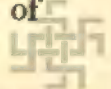
“Your kind letter, which I received yesterday, though it relieved me from a very great anxiety, which Payoud’s imperfect intelligence had caused, gave me the sincerest concern. I, however, rejoice most heartily to find you are doing so well, and trust that your recovery will be as rapid as your illness was severe.

“I am now eagerly waiting for my brother Richard’s return to England, as on his advice will depend the time of my going to college, and the choice of my tutor. I should wish for Harpur, whom you saw at Portsmouth. You, I conclude, will be very soon setting off for Cambridge; I wish Oxford was the place of your destination instead, since Surtees is going from Christ Church, and the pursuits and inclinations of W—— and C—— are *nimis aliena a Scævolaë studiis*. But don’t tell any body I think so. I must, therefore, have my acquaintance to make; but in this my brother’s introduction will no doubt be of great use to me. By what I hear, I conceive you are very lucky in having such a person as Mr. Dealtry to introduce you at college. You will laugh at me for talking of college six months before my time, but *Tendimus in Latium* is the principle that rules us all, and Æneas talked of Italy when he was only at Carthage.

“I remain, dear Thornton,

“Your affectionate friend.”

The next letter, written at seventeen, though not exempt from the prejudices of a youthful and ardent spirit, nor from errors which subsequent experience taught him to correct, displays the bent of his studies, as well as the powers of his mind when employed on the spiritual and temporal affairs of that Church of which he was to become so distinguished an ornament.



To John Thornton, Esq.

CHAP.
I.
1800.

Neasdon, June 24, 1800.

“ MY DEAR THORNTON,

“ Your letter, which I received yesterday, was an agreeable answer to one which I had sent off that very morning. I am glad to find that your tour has been pleasant and, I trust, profitable. I fully agree with you respecting the stipends of the clergy. Were Queen Anne’s bounty better regulated, and were it ordered that every clergyman of above 200*l.* a year should, bona fide, pay the tenth of his benefices to that, or some other similar institution, and so on in such an ascending scale to the largest preferments as might be thought right and equal, much of this evil, and all its attending mischiefs of non-residence, contempt of the ministry, &c., might, I think, without inconvenience, be prevented. This it is thought was the intention of Queen Anne ; but the death of that excellent woman, (for I am tory enough to think very highly of her) and the unfortunate circumstances which followed, threw obstacles in the way of the Church which I fear there is no probability of its being able to get over. The arbitrary suppression of ecclesiastical assemblies, the disuse and contempt into which apostolical censure and penances have fallen, and the number of chapels which, though many of them are served by episcopal clergymen, are yet independent of their spiritual head, the bishop, (and consequently equally schismatical with the ephod and teraphim of Micah) have, as you are no doubt well aware, stripped the Church so entirely of power, and rendered it in every thing so dependent, that it has no ability to help itself in this or any other point. I sincerely pray that the Almighty would put it into the hearts of the nursing fathers of the Church, to take some order for the comfort of her ministers.

I, however, am rather apt to regard the interference of temporal authority in these matters with a jealous eye. The rulers of this world, have very seldom shown themselves friendly to the real interests of the Church. If we consider the conduct of the



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government in the times of the reformation, and indeed ever since, we shall always find it has been more friendly to its own avaricious and ambitious projects, than to consult what is just and pious. Even the piety of an Edward could not prevent his ministers from encreasing, instead of rectifying those evils of which we complain. Besides, I really do, in some measure, doubt whether temporal governors may, without sacrilege, meddle, by their own single authority, with the revenues of the Church. This appears to have been the opinion of Whitgift, as we may infer from his well known address to Queen Elizabeth. Let then the representatives of the bishops, priests, and deacons of the empire be convened, and by their advice and with their consent, let the king, as head of the Church, and the parliament, as guardians of the laws, take order concerning this matter. But this the present temper of the times renders, I fear, improbable. I am not one of those who cry the Church is in danger; on the contrary, I think it is in some measure better off than it was thirty years ago, and we have very great reason to be thankful to God for what we enjoy; but really, when we have seen a bishop refused to Virginia, not as yet dismembered, at a time when popery had been established in Canada, if we compare the magnificent temples, nay, even convents of the papists in England, with the miserable condition of the episcopalians in Scotland, and many other things of the same kind, it will scarcely appear that our government is *over-zealous* in this cause.

I think you are very lucky in your acquaintance with Lord Teignmouth; they are such men, as you have described him, that are to keep us from sinking. Dr. — I have heard well spoken of before, but I grieve that, as you tell me, he is negligent even of the mint and cummin of our Church. If our ecclesiastical ordinances are, in his opinion, lawful, it is very wrong in him to disobey his superiors; if otherwise, when he entered into our Church, and declared his assent to our articles and liturgy, he has committed a sin which I fear, in some measure, resembles that for which there is no remission. Perhaps this is going a little too far; but it is dangerous ground, when a man declares in the presence of the Church

and its head, that he is moved by the Holy Ghost to join a society whose institutions he thinks unlawful. Perhaps you may have been misinformed, or I may have misunderstood you. I sincerely hope so. You will, possibly, think that I stand too much on ceremonies; but you must consider, that though an indifferent ceremony in itself is nothing, yet when commanded by lawful authority it must be obeyed.

“As to those who, being prevented by the fear of poverty from entering into orders, set up a high place of their own, I think we have no great loss of them in the Church. ‘How can a man preach,’ says the apostle, meaning, I suppose, take upon him the office of a minister, ‘unless he be sent?’ But how can he prove his mission, even to himself, unless it be confirmed either by the imposition of hands by the Church, or by miracles? Even our Saviour did not take upon Himself his office till such time as God visibly and manifestly, by a miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost, set Him apart for this work. ‘This honour no man taketh to himself.’ As for those poor wretches whom the oratory of men seduces into schism, I wish they understood the excellent distinction you made between prayer and preaching when I was last in your company; which sentiment of yours corresponded entirely in substance, and almost in words, with a beautiful passage in the fifth book of my favourite ‘Hooker’s Eccl. Pol.’ This would teach them not to shun our Church for the faults of its ministers, who, however, if they preach unsoundly, or if they are entirely insufficient, should be complained of to their governors; though in this case we shall do well to consider that the treasures of God are sometimes enclosed in earthen vessels. I must apologize for the length of my letter, and also observe that I am aware there are many things in it which the world would condemn.”

To John Thornton, Esq.

Hodnet Hall, August 25, 1800.

“ MY DEAR THORNTON,

“ Your last letter was full of the worst news you could have sent me. I am very sorry to hear of your illness ; pray write to me soon to tell me how you go on ; but if you are ill don't hurry yourself, but make your servant send me a line, which will be a great comfort to me, let it be written by whom it may, provided it brings favourable intelligence.

“ I am sorry that you are edging still farther off from my haunts ; but, however, what are fifty or one hundred miles to two lads with affectionate hearts and hardy outsides ? Cambridge and Oxford have, as I believe, a mail running between them, so that at College we are only a few hours' drive asunder. Why did you ask me if I was at Tunbridge ? You might as well suppose I was at Botany Bay, or Terra de Jeso. Tunbridge, I should conceive, would, in the present, or rather late hot weather, be the death of any thing but a salamander, a cockney, or a fine lady. *Quid Romæ faciam ? Cardiri nescio.* Vale Royal Abbey, or as it is generally, or at least frequently called, the Vale Royal of Cheshire, is the seat of our relation, Mr. Cholmondeley, which name not being over classical, I was obliged to speak elliptically. I have been a little interrupted in my Greek by two things ; first, the examining of a large chest full of old family writings, which I have almost got through ; and, secondly, I have commenced a diligent reperusal of the Old Testament, which I trust I shall, *Deo Juvante*, finish before I go to Oxford. In the course of last week I read as far as Ruth. Excuse the irregularity of this style and character of mine, for the illness which you foretell to yourself sticks in my throat, and confuses a head which is never one of the clearest.”



*To John Thornton, Esq.**Neasdon, August, 1800.*

“ You will think me very impatient when I again write to you ; but you must consider, that as I have less to do or think of than you have, (though I fag as hard as Bristow’s time will allow,) I am the more eager to hear from you. What is the common opinion in your neighbourhood on the subject of the harvest ? It is a point which so much concerns the whole empire, I may say all Europe, that I have been very anxious in enquiring every where about it, and general reports are, I think, not unfavourable ; though as the harvest will undoubtedly be a late one, the distress for a month or two longer will, I fear, be terrible. It was a shocking consideration, which I had an opportunity of observing when in Yorkshire, that the number of robberies was very great, no less than three taking place in the neighbourhood of Harrogate during my stay there, and that food alone was stolen. For instance, an inn there was broken open, but all that was taken was a joint or two of meat. That want must surely be dreadful, which would brave the gallows to obtain a single meal. I have no news to tell you, though the present scene of politics has fairly succeeded in rousing me from my former inattention, and I am as eager after a newspaper as ‘ e’er a politician of them all.’

“ If you could give me a few instructions for my conduct at first going to College, I should thank you ; for though I am well provided both with an introducer and adviser in my brother, yet I should be glad to hear you too on the subject . . . I send you a sketch of a building which I passed coming from the north, which will interest you as much as it did me ; I could almost have pulled off my hat as we drove by. It is Sir Isaac Newton’s house as it appears from the north road. Though I have heard it taken notice of, I never saw any print or drawing of it. You may perhaps think it worth while to improve upon my sketch, which, though from memory, is, I believe, accurate, and draw it yourself on a



CHAP.
I.
1800.

large scale, as I hope you have not entirely neglected an art which you used to make a figure in here."

To John Thornton, Esq.

Hodnet Hall, Sept. 19, 1800.

" You ask me what is my plan of operations in my studies. I am afraid that I have of late a good deal relaxed from my former diligence, and my advances in Homer and algebra are not equal to what I hoped. I have, however, not totally neglected these; and I have got on fast in Guicciardini and Machiavel, and at my spare hours have read one half of Knolles' History of the Turks, which you know Johnson highly, and I think deservedly, commends. I, for my own part, have never met with a greater mass of information, or, considering the time when it was written, a more pleasing style. If ever you should meet with it, if you are not daunted with a thick folio, closely printed, you can scarcely find a more agreeable companion for those hours in which you are not employed in other ways. You will laugh at me for studying Machiavel, but I read him principally for the sake of his style; though I frankly own I think much better of him than the generality of the world (who probably have never read him) profess to do.

I am to be entered at Brazen Nose about the 10th of October, and am to reside immediately, though entrance keeps a term, since I do not want to waste my time any longer. I am to have a private tutor, which I am very glad of. It is, I believe, principally a contrivance to keep me out of drinking parties, and to give me the advantage of reading to another person instead of to myself. Your observation on the subject of mathematics recalled to my mind what I once said to you at Neasdon, and in which you agreed with me, that, since perfection was not to be expected, how fortunate it was that, of the two greatest universities in the world, the one should have applied its principal powers to those sciences which Æschylus calls *αριστοις*, and the other should have followed the no less necessary or splendid pursuits of the civil law, logic, theology,

and the classics. I assure you, however, I intend to pursue mathematics with diligence. Though not sufficiently advanced to have even a Pisgah view of the lands of Mathesis, yet the fruits which you have reaped there are sufficient to stimulate me to the conquest. *Te duce, Cæsar.*

“ I remain, my dear friend,

“ Your obliged and affectionate,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To John Thornton, Esq.

Malpas, 1800.

.... “ I am well pleased to find, by your Hist. Eccl. Wellens, these young clergymen so well cleared. You may remember what my opinion has always been respecting extempore preaching ; that it is, in particular cases, not only a legal, but even a laudable practice : and you have clearly, I think, made out that Dr. P——’s is one of those cases. The interests of the majority ought certainly to be preferred. However, in a matter of such infinite importance, it were greatly to be wished that the bigoted minority were by some means or other ‘ pulled out of the fire.’ If the entreaties of the Church will not avail, might not its censures be tried ? This, you will say, is high Church doctrine, and I will acknowledge it is not very conformable to the tenets of philosophy, but, I hope, not altogether repugnant to Christianity.

“ Have you been much out a hunting lately ? D. seemed to think, I remember, that Nimrod was a mere type of you, and used to shake his wise head when you talked of a leap. He had once a long conversation on the subject with me, and said hunting encouraged vice. I had recourse to mythology, and told him the chaste Hippolytus was a hunter, which satisfied him. My reason for asking you if you are keen after it now, is because I conclude you read the less the more you hunt, so that I may have more chance of overtaking you in mathematics. I have been a good



CHAP.
I.
1800.

deal employed in reading the dusty volumes of the old polemic writers, which, with my Italian, leave me not much time for mathematics. My progress in algebra, though I do sometimes *play* at it, has been exceedingly trifling. I am quite ashamed of it.

“ I was much entertained with the battle of the Cloisters . . . ; your retreat was certainly *tout à fait à propos*. Your courage and conduct in this *holy war*, may set you on the same shelf with Roland, Astolfo, or even Guy, Earl of Warwick, the last of whom, since he conquered an ancestor of mine (Colebrand,) *must necessarily* have been a wonderful hero.”

To John Thornton, Esq.

Malpas, October, 1800.

“ I still remain here though term is begun, and I shall not, I think, go to Oxford before the end of the month. My brother is so kind as to promise, if possible, to meet me there. This will of course be much more agreeable, though I have already been introduced to many Brazen Nose men. The college is so superabundantly full that rooms are no where to be procured. I am much amused with the preparations I see making for furnishing me with household stuff, such as table-cloths, sheets, &c. &c. ; it is surely a luxurious age when a boy of seventeen requires so much fuss to fit him out. I have been a much gayer fellow than usual of late, having been at a race, and also at, what I never saw before, a masquerade. This catalogue of jaunts, though not much perhaps for a girl, has been a great deal for me, and has indeed quite satisfied me. If these things are so little interesting even while they have the charm of novelty, I think I shall care very little indeed for them when that is worn off. The masquerade was not so entertaining as I expected. There certainly were some characters well kept up, but the most part behaved exactly as if they were barefaced. It was given by Sir W. Williams Wynn, and though certainly much inferior in splendour to Mr. Cholmondeley's ball, was very well conducted. *Sat de nugis, ad seria revertito*. My studies go on as usual. Machiavel I rather

admire more than at first. My Greek studies will be soon, I fear, *gravelled*, if I continue at home. My brother particularly recommends me to attend the public lectures on astronomy and mathematics at Oxford, as he says, they are at present very clever.

"We have some tumults in this neighbourhood. In Staffordshire the mob proceeded to domiciliary visits with halters and agreements, forcing the farmers to the alternative. All is however quiet at present."

To John Thornton, Esq.

Oxford, Nov. 11, 1800.

"I have had so few letters from my friends at Neasdon, that I can give you no news of them. . . . I have advised them to abstain from the celebration of the 5th of November, and again pressed the Rumford soup plan, which I wished to bring about last year; how they have determined I know not . . .

"I am very glad to hear you are settled to your mind at Cambridge. My experience of Oxford has been so short, that I am no very competent judge; but the little I have seen of it is certainly what would give me a very favourable opinion of Oxford in general, and Brazen Nose in particular. I have got through all the formalities of examination, matriculation, and all other —ations that are necessary. I have been fortunate in being able, for the present, to borrow very decent rooms, and have hopes of still better for my own next term. As to the plan of my studies I really know as yet nothing about the matter: that is to be settled to-morrow. My father and mother came up with me here, and go away to-morrow. I was in great hopes that my brother would have been able to meet me, and still expect him daily. My acquaintances lie quite differently from yours. I, indeed, know several of the fellows, the senior proctor, the bishop¹, &c. but they are *great men* and not given to associate with freshmen and commoners; so that I believe my acquaintance with them will be only

¹ Dr. William Cleaver, Bishop of Chester, Principal of Brazen Nose.—Ed.

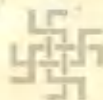


CHAP.
I.
1800.

bows. Mr. Hugh Cholmondeley¹ indeed has been very kind to me, and has taken much trouble in getting me settled in my rooms, as my tutor is out of the way. To him I owe my introduction to the few acquaintance I have, who are mostly Cheshire men. The bishop cautioned me very strongly against too numerous an acquaintance; it is a thing I certainly would not court. I am almost entirely without books; my own are as yet at Neasdon. Mr. Cholmondeley has, however, very good naturedly offered to lend me any thing I want, that he has got in an excellent library. . . . I have been just this instant most agreeably surprised by the sudden arrival of my brother Richard. He only staid an instant and set off to the King's Arms, to my father and mother. I would fain have gone with him; but it is past nine and the gates are shut."

Reginald Heber was entered in November, 1800, at Brazen Nose College, Oxford, of which his father had been, his elder brother was then, and his younger brother afterwards became a fellow. As his education had been private, he came to the university under the disadvantage of having an entirely new acquaintance to form; his abilities were known only to a few, but his talents for conversation and literature soon introduced him to a circle so large as to endanger the future career of a man of meaner aspirations, or who had a less ardent thirst for knowledge. He never allowed his hours of study to be abridged by his evening parties, but would often tie a wet cloth round his head to keep off the approach of sleep. In his first year at college he gained the university prize for Latin verse, by his "*Carmen Seculare*," a poem on the commencement of the new century, which gave that bright promise of success which his future academical career so well fulfilled. The extracts which follow are from letters written during the early part of his residence at Oxford.

¹ Subsequently Dean of Chester.—ED.



To John Thornton, Esq.

CHAP.
I.
1801.

Oxford, Jan. 15, 1801.

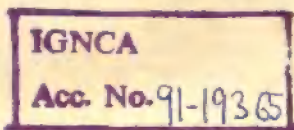
"I am very much obliged to you, my dear friend, for your kind invitation to Cambridge, and I could wish it were in my power to accept it. I have, however, been so completely engaged, and shall continue to be so, that an absence, however short, from college, will be attended with considerable difficulty and inconvenience. Our meeting must then be deferred till after this term, when I hope we shall both of us be in town.

"I write under the bondage of a very severe cold, which I caught by getting out of bed at four in the morning, to see the celebration of the famous All Souls' mallard feast. All Souls is on the opposite side of Ratcliffe square to Brazen Nose, so that their battlements are in some degree commanded by my garret. I had thus a full view of the *Lord Mallard* and about forty fellows, in a kind of procession on the library roof, with immense lighted torches, which had a singular effect. I know not if their orgies were overlooked by any uninitiated eyes except my own; but I am sure that all who had the gift of hearing, within half a mile, must have been awakened by the manner in which they thundered their chorus, 'O by the blood of King Edward.' I know not whether you have any similar strange customs in Cambridge, so that, perhaps, such ceremonies as the All Souls' mallard, the Queen's boar's head, &c. will strike you as more absurd than they do an Oxford man; but I own I am of opinion that these remnants of Gothicism, tend very much to keep us in a sound consistent track; and that one cause of the declension of the foreign universities, was their compliance, in such points as these, with the variation of manners.

"I have got into a habit of tolerably early rising, which I intend to adhere to; the plan is that another man, who has been my companion in the course of mathematics which I have gone through, has agreed to read with me every morning from six till chapel, by which scheme we gain two hours of the best part of the whole day. This system must, however, be altered when chapel

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CHAP.
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1801.

begins at six, which it does in summer. I do not find "*Euclid de novo*" so irksome as your friend used to think. Though mathematics will never be the great rallying point of my studies, I should be very sorry to be ignorant of them, and that philosophy which depends on them. My class-fellow is agreeable and remarkably clever; though only sixteen, his acquirements and understanding are inferior to few in the college. He is at present a kind of tutor to a man at least five years his senior. Some traits in his manner and character have, I sometimes fancy, an imperfect resemblance to you; and, while they make me still fonder of him, serve to put me in mind of the only cause I have to regret that there are two separate universities in England.

"Term commences next Saturday, or at least the men come up then, as, strictly speaking, it began yesterday."

To John Thornton, Esq.

Oxford, 1801.

"Notwithstanding the miseries of fellowships on which you descant, I should like very well to have one. I cannot, indeed, conceive how an excellent society, good rooms, and the finest situation for study in the world, can have that effect in benumbing the faculties which you ascribe to it. There will, no doubt, be many illiberal men in these sort of societies; but I fear those men would have been still less gentlemen than they are at present, had it not been for the advantages of a college society. I was much entertained, my dear friend, with the account you gave of time passing away at Cambridge. 'The beef of yesterday is succeeded by the mutton of to-day,' are your words, when you show me the manner in which the Cantabs pass their time. You, indeed, who are clothed in purple and fare sumptuously every day at the fellows' table, would have more reason to reckon by meals than I should; for the dinners we get here, at least the commoners, (for the gentlemen commoners have a table to themselves, and fare very well,) are the most beastly things that ever graced the table

of a poor-house or house of correction. I write this letter in a very ill humour at some circumstances I happen to be engaged in, which are as follows:—It is thought expedient that, as I principally feel myself deficient in mathematics, I should stay in Oxford during this next vacation, in order to go through a course of lectures with the mathematical professor. This is certainly very much for a man's interest, but it will be very dull, I fear, as few Brazen Nose men with whom I am acquainted will stay. If you could contrive to take the opportunity of this vacation at once to see Oxford, and make an old school-fellow perfectly happy by your company for a day or two, I need not say how glad I should be. If you conveniently can, pray do come. ‘*Per hoc inane purpuræ decus precor.*’

“I have fagged pretty hard since I have been here, on a perfectly different plan, however, from my Neasdon studies. I was very closely engaged last week with a copy of verses, as you will believe, when I tell you that I literally had no time to shave, inso-much that my beard was as long and hoary as that of his majesty the erl king. I succeeded tolerably well in my verses, and had to read them in hall; the most nervous ceremony I ever went through.

“I agree with you on the subject of that fabled academical leisure. We are, at Cambridge and Oxford, in the economy of time, perfect Cartesians; we admit of no vacuum. I have been, through my Cheshire connexions and the long residence of my brother, introduced to a great many people; and this has, of course, produced very numerous parties, but, I assure you, I shall preserve my character for sobriety: no man is obliged to drink more than he pleases, nor have I seen any of that spirit of playing tricks on freshmen which we are told were usual forty or fifty years ago at the universities.

“Vale—si possis, veni.

“You seem not much to like the concerts at Cambridge. I very much approve of ours here, both as it is a rational scholar-



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I.
1801.

like amusement, and as it affords a retreat, if necessary, from the bottle."

On the back of one of Reginald Heber's early college exercises is written the following fragment on alchemy.

* * * * *

So fares the sage, whose mystic labours try
The thorny paths of fabled alchemy.
Time, toil, and prayer, to aid the work conspire,
And the keen jaws of dross-devouring fire.
In one dim pile discordant embers blaze,
And stars of adverse influence join their rays;
Till every rite perform'd, and labour sped,
When the clear furnace dawns with sacred red,
From forth the genial warmth and teeming mould,
The bright-winged radiance bursts of infant gold.

In one of the vacations he wrote the following imitation of a song, said to have been composed by Robert, Duke of Normandy, during his confinement in Cardiff Castle, addressed to an oak which grew in an ancient encampment within sight of his windows.

Oak, that stately and alone
On the war-worn mound hast grown,
The blood of man thy sapling fed,
And dyed thy tender root in red;
Woe to the feast where foes combine,
Woe to the strife of words and wine!

Oak, thou hast sprung for many a year,
'Mid whisp'ring rye-grass tall and sear,
The coarse rank herb, which seems to show
That bones unblest'd are laid below;
Woe to the sword that hates its sheath,
Woe to th' unholy trade of death!

Oak, from the mountain's airy brow
Thou view'st the subject woods below,
And merchants hail the well-known tree,
Returning o'er the Severn sea.
Woe, woe to him whose birth is high,
For peril waits on royalty!



Now storms have bent thee to the ground,
And envious ivy clips thee round ;
And shepherd hinds in wanton play
Have stripped thy needful bark away ;
Woe to the man whose foes are strong,
Thrice woe to him who lives too long !

CHAP.
I.
1803.

To John Thornton, Esq.

Oxford, 1803.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

" I believe I mentioned in my last letter the causes which prevented me from answering your's immediately. I was at that time in all the perplexity of forming a plan for a long poem, and turning over the bad Latin and tedious descriptions of Reland and Coticus. In the middle of this pursuit, I was interrupted by a very severe attack of the influenza, which, though it perhaps tended greatly to keeping your letter in my thoughts, incapacitated me from writing at all, as I could seldom bear to sit up, my head and body ached so much. After my recovery the time was so short, and the business so pressing, that you will not wonder that I postponed writing to you, among the rest of the pleasures which I gave up, till I should have completed the copy. This was accordingly given in on Monday night. I know not whether I told you in my last that it is a sort of prize extraordinary for English verses,—the subject, Palestine. I was not aware till yesterday that the same subject had been some time since given for the Seatonian prize. I think it on the whole a fine one, as it will admit of much fancy and many sublime ideas. I know not whether it ought to have been made exclusively sacred or not. Many men whom I have talked with, seem inclined to have made it so ; but I have an utter dislike to clothing sacred subjects in verse, unless it be done as nearly as possible in Scriptural language, and introduced with great delicacy. I could not refrain, however, from mentioning and rather enlarging on the Messiah and the last triumphs of Judea. The historical facts of Scripture, I, of course, made great use of, as well as of the crusades, siege of Acre, and other



CHAP.
I.
1803.

pieces of modern story. My brother, my tutor¹, and Mr. Walter Scott, the author of the *Border Minstrelsy*, whom I have no doubt you know by name, if not personally, give me strong hopes, and I am, on the other hand, I hope, pretty well prepared for a disappointment. Whether the event be favourable or otherwise, I shall know in about ten days, and will not fail to communicate my victory or defeat.

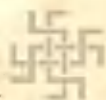
"I am so much agitated about the news of war, that I cannot help, contrary to my general practice, adverting to politics, and congratulating you on the hopes that, as good springs out of evil, this public confusion may terminate by cashiering our present ministry."

It was in the spring of 1803 that Reginald Heber wrote "Palestine." In the course of its composition, Sir Walter Scott happened to breakfast with him one morning, together with his brother and one or two friends, previous to their joining a party of pleasure to Blenheim. "Palestine" became the subject of conversation, and the poem was produced and read. Sir Walter, to whom the editor is indebted for the anecdote, said, "You have omitted one striking circumstance in your account of the building of the temple, that no tools were used in its erection." Reginald retired from the breakfast table to a corner of the room, and before the party separated, produced the beautiful lines which now form a part of the poem², and which were at a subsequent period, and alas! on a far different occasion, quoted by Sir Charles Edward Grey, as illustrative of the manner in which he trusted the Church of Asia would arise, and in which the friend he then mourned, was so admirably qualified to foster its growth³. On mounting the rostrum to recite his poem, Reginald Heber was struck by seeing two young ladies, of Jewish extraction, sitting in a conspicuous

¹ The Rev. T. S. Smyth, now rector of St. Austell, Cornwall.

² No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung,
Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung.
Majestic silence!

³ Vide Appendix, for Sir C. E. Grey's speech at Calcutta.



part of the theatre. The recollection of some lines which reflect severely on their nation flashed across his mind, and he resolved to spare their feelings by softening the passage which he feared would give them pain, as he proceeded ; but it was impossible to communicate this intention to his brother, who was sitting behind him as prompter, and who, on the attempt being made, immediately checked him, so that he was forced to recite the lines as they were originally written.

The success which attended this prize poem has been unparalleled in its class ; universally read at the time, by many committed to memory, it has retained its place among the higher poetical compositions of the age ; and has since been still further immortalized by the genius of Dr. Crotch, musical professor in Oxford ¹. The effect which its recitation in the theatre produced was affectingly commemorated by Sir Charles E. Grey, in the speech already referred to, and is thus recorded by an eloquent contemporary, writing at the interval of twenty-four years ².

"None who heard Reginald Heber recite his 'Palestine' in that magnificent theatre, will ever forget his appearance—so interesting and impressive. It was known that his old father was somewhere sitting among the crowded audience, when his universally admired son ascended the rostrum ; and we have heard that the sudden thunder of applause which then arose so shook his frame, weak and wasted by long illness, that he never recovered it, and may be said to have died of the joy dearest to a parent's heart ³. Reginald

¹ It has also been translated into Welch by Dr. Owen Pugh ; who had, previously, translated the *Paradise Lost* into the same language.

² Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine* for November, 1827.

³ There is no truth in this story ; but an error cannot be regretted which has given occasion to the following lines, by Miss Jermyn, published in one of the *Annuals* for 1829.

ON THE RECITATION OF PALESTINE.

Hush'd was the busy hum ; nor voice nor sound
Through the vast concourse, mark'd the moment near ;
A deep and holy silence breath'd around,
And mute attention fix'd the list'ning ear :



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I.
1803.

Heber's recitation, like that of all poets whom we have heard recite, was altogether untrammelled by the critical laws of elocution, which were not set at defiance, but either by the poet unknown or forgotten; and there was a charm in his somewhat melancholy voice, that occasionally faltered, less from a feeling of the solemnity and even grandeur of the scene, of which he was himself the conspicuous object—though that feeling did suffuse his pale, ingenuous, and animated countenance—than from the deeply felt sanctity of his subject, comprehending the most awful mysteries of God's revelations to man. As his voice grew bolder and more sonorous in the hush, the audience felt that this was not the mere display of the skill and ingenuity of a clever youth, the

When from the rostrum burst the hallow'd strain,
And Heber, kindling with poetic fire,
Stood 'mid the gazing and expectant train,
And woke to eloquence his sacred lyre.

The youthful student, with emphatic tone,
(His lofty subject on his mind impress'd,)
With grace and energy unrivall'd shone,
And roused devotion in each thoughtless breast.

He sang of Palestine—that holy land,
Where saints and martyrs, and the warrior brave,
The cross in triumph planting on its strand,
Beneath its banners sought a glorious grave.

He sang of Calvary, of his Saviour sang,
Of the rich mercies of redeeming love;
When through the crowd spontaneous plaudits rang,
Breathing a foretaste of rewards above.

What means that stifled sob, that groan of joy?
Why fall those tears upon the furrow'd cheek?
The aged father hears his darling boy,
And sobs and tears alone his feelings speak.

From his full heart the tide of rapture flows;
In vain to stem its rapid course he tries;
He hears the applauding shouts, the solemn close,
And, sinking from excess of joy, he dies!



accidental triumph of an accomplished versifier over his compeers, in the dexterity of scholarship, which is all that can generally be truly said of such exhibitions,—but that here was a poet indeed, not only of bright promise, but of high achievement,—one whose name was already written in the roll of the immortals. And that feeling, whatever might have been the share of the boundless enthusiasm, with which the poem was listened to, attributable to the influence of the '*genius loci*,' has been since sanctioned by the judgment of the world that has placed 'Palestine' at the very head of the poetry on divine subjects of this age. It is now incorporated for ever with the poetry of England."

When Reginald Heber returned from the theatre, surrounded by his friends, with every hand stretched out to congratulate, and every voice raised to praise him, he withdrew from the circle; and his mother, who, impatient of his absence, went to look for him, found him in his room on his knees, giving thanks to God, not so much for the talents which had, on that day, raised him to honour, but that those talents had enabled him to bestow unmixed happiness on his parents. It is easy to conjecture what, with these feelings of piety and filial affection, must have been the tone of the letter written on this occasion to Mr. Thornton, and yet it is impossible not to regret its accidental loss. Had he possessed a mind less fortified by Christian humility, the praises which were now showered on him might have produced dangerous effects; but the tone of his character never varied; at college and through life, though distinguished by great cheerfulness and buoyancy of spirits, he retained that sobriety of mind which had marked his childhood, and he attracted not only the admiration, but the love of his contemporaries; for, besides that great superiority seems to be almost out of the reach of envy, his talents were accompanied with so much modesty and kindness, that the laurels which he won could not be viewed with jealousy, even by those whose exertions in the same race had failed of success.

Reginald Heber was always remarkable for the purity of his ideas, and early in life he was known hastily to close a book from



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I.
1803.

something meeting his eye which his heart shunned. One who knew him well, and had been his companion in his gayest and most unreserved hours, used to say, "that if his heart had no other covering than a glass, its thoughts were so pure, no one need fear to read them." And his conversation evinced the delicacy of his mind. His innocent gaiety, and his inexhaustible fund of anecdote, the information on almost every subject which his extensive reading and his memory enabled him to bring forward, made him the pride of his family, the delight of his acquaintance, and the pattern by which his younger friends strove to form themselves.

On his return to Malpas in 1803 for the long vacation, Reginald Heber found the neighbourhood engaged in forming volunteer corps to repel the threatened invasion. At the request of a neighbour and friend of his father's, Mr. Dod, of Edge, who had just raised a body of infantry, he wrote, when sitting round the tea-table in the evening with his family, the following stanzas, to be sung at the meeting of the corps the following morning.

HONOUR ITS OWN REWARD.

Swell, swell the shrill trumpet clear sounding afar,
Our sabres flash splendour around,
For freedom has summon'd her sons to the war,
Nor Britain has shrunk from the sound.

Let plunder's vile thirst the invaders inflame,
Let slaves for their wages be bold,
Shall valour the harvest of avarice claim?
Shall Britons be barter'd for gold?

No! free be our aid, independent our might,
Proud honour our guerdon alone;
Unhired be the hand we raise in the fight,
The sword that we brandish our own.

Still all that we love to our thoughts shall succeed,
Their image each labour shall cheer,
For them we will conquer—for them we will bleed,
And our pay be a smile or a tear!



And oh ! if returning triumphant we move,
 Or sink on the land that we save,
 Oh ! blest by his country, his kindred, his love,
 How vast the reward of the brave !

CHAP.
 I.
 1803

To John Thornton, Esq.

1803.

" Palestine I have not published ; but if you will accept a copy, I have desired my brother to leave it in St. James's Square. I hope your military career is prosperous. I have myself been pretty similarly employed, together with Heber, who has had great success in raising a corps of infantry on my father's estate. All here are furiously loyal, and my brother has found more difficulty in rejecting than in soliciting. I do not apprehend that our services will be wanted, though, as Liverpool is an expected point of attack, we may in that case become really useful.

The Shropshire volunteers are, in case of necessity, to be united into a legion, commanded by Mr. Kynaston Powell, the member for the county. You give me a full account of your military proceedings, but not a word of your academical. Pray do not utterly throw aside the gown for the sabre ; I intend to try whether they are not very compatible, as I fag and drill by turns. My brother talks of running me for the honours next year. I own I am unwilling, but he is urgent, and I must work hard. I have lately seen some very interesting and melancholy letters from Ireland ; the last written under such apprehensions that no name was signed. They give every man reason, I think, to be thankful to Providence, and to be very angry with the ministry, who seem to have neglected the most evident and notorious reasons for precaution. A powder magazine belonging to the rebels had blown up and many arms been found, above a week before that attack which found the ministry so unprepared, that the rebels were within a street of the undefended castle before any troops were opposed to them. So much for the man whom Mr. — declares above all praise !"



CHAP.
I.
1804.

The following year, 1804, Reginald Heber sustained the heaviest affliction which an affectionate son is called on to endure. The death of his excellent father, in his seventy-sixth year, is thus related to Mr. Thornton :

Malpas, Feb. 22, 1804.

“ DEAR THORNTON,

“ Thank you heartily for your friendly condolence ; indeed we have stood in need of comfort, as so grievous a deprivation must bear heavy on us, though the manner in which my father was taken away was most merciful both to himself and to us. May we die the death of the righteous ! It was an event he had long looked forward to, and held himself in readiness to meet. It seems but yesterday, though eight months have since elapsed, that he came to the Act at Oxford with all the sprightliness and mental vigour of youth, as gay and, to all appearance, as healthy as his children. Yet, I believe it was about this time he perceived in himself some symptoms which he considered as a warning to trim his lamp and be prepared. Alas ! in a month after we returned to Hodnet these symptoms grew more serious. Dr. Currie quieted our apprehensions, in some degree, by explaining the nature of his disorder, and assuring us that old age had nothing to do with it. My father’s opinion remained, however, unchanged ; he went through a long course of medicines, I think, principally for our sakes, and from a sense of duty, for he often said all was in vain. Much of his time was past in private prayer and reading the Scriptures : among his friends, his spirits were as even and his conversation as cheerful as ever. He often exhorted us to be prepared for his loss, and reminded us of the hope which he had in our Saviour. The skilfull treatment of his physician, joined to his own excellent constitution, seemed at length to have completely conquered the complaint, and removed the fears of all but my mother, who, as she saw more, apprehended more from his declining strength and appetite. In his letters to me at Oxford he mentioned slightly, that though his disorder was gone,

his strength did not return; but I considered this as the natural consequence of his confinement, and hoped that spring would set all right. At last I received a dreadful summons to return here immediately. He had suffered a relapse, accompanied with a painful and terrifying hysteric hiccough. His days were without ease and his nights without sleep; his mind remained the same, blessing God for every little interval of pain, and delighting to recount the mercies he had experienced, and to give his children comfort and advice. These conversations, which were much more frequent than his strength could well bear, I trust in God I shall never forget. Our hopes in the mean time were buoyed up by many fair appearances, and by the gradual diminution of his pains; but we could not long deceive ourselves. When at length all hopes were over, we knelt around his bed, his wife and all his children; he blessed us, and over and over again raised his feeble voice to bid us be Christians and to hold fast our faith; he spoke of the world as a 'den of wild beasts,' that he rejoiced to leave, and prayed God to guard us in our journey through it. My mother was quite overwhelmed with grief and fatigue, having for six weeks never taken off her clothes. He chid her gently for sorrowing as without hope, and talked much of the Divine Rock on which his hope was founded. The next morning he expressed a wish to receive the Sacrament, and bade me, in the mean time, read the prayer in our liturgy for a person at the point of death. I, through my tears, made a blunder which he corrected me in from memory. He now expressed some impatience for the Sacrament, saying he 'hoped not to be detained long.' Mr. Bridge¹ arrived, and we all together partook of the most solemn communion that we can ever expect to join in in this world, to which, indeed, my father seemed scarcely to belong. A smile sate on his pale countenance, and his eyes sparkled brighter than I ever saw them. From this time he spoke but little, his lips moved, and his eyes were raised upwards. He blessed us again; we kissed him and

¹ Mr. Heber's Curate at Malpas.—ED.



CHAP.
I.
1804.

found his lips and cheeks cold and breathless. O Thornton, may you (after many years) feel as we did then!

"I have been two days writing this letter, for I have been often obliged to break off. There are few people to whom I would have ventured to say so much, but to a real friend, as I think you, it is pleasant to open one's mind.

"I return to Oxford in the course of next week; my mother and sister go to Hodnet, to which my brother has, with the kindness and affection which he has always shown, invited us as to a home."

To John Thornton, Esq.

Oxford, April 23, 1804.

"I would have answered your letter long since, had I not been really very seriously occupied, as my examination is to come on, I believe, in a few days. I have given up all idea of standing for honours, as my mathematical and, indeed, my other studies have been interrupted this spring by, alas! too good a reason. In fact, to pass a tolerable examination, even in the most ordinary way, is by no means a trifling exertion. Perhaps, too, my ardour for academical distinction is a little cooled. My examination will be precipitated much sooner than I could wish, from a necessity of joining the corps I belong to, which is going out on permanent duty the tenth of next month. I am sorry to find you have not persevered in your idea of passing a short time at Oxford. The Michaelmas term I shall, I think, be resident, and it would of course make Oxford very delightful to me to have your society. I have been here the whole of the Easter vacation, fagging, sometimes, rather hard, though never so much as I ought to do. I have, however, during this time made myself pretty well master of Aristotle's ethics and rhetoric, and have gone through a good deal of Æschylus. Logic, alas! and mathematics sleep very quietly, and as a little of both is necessary, I believe I must trust to my memory for doing justice to some lectures I attended when a freshman. God bless you, my dear friend!"



On the 2nd of November, 1804, Reginald Heber was elected a Fellow of All Souls; which event he announces to his friend in his next letter.

CHAP.
I.
1804.

To John Thornton, Esq.

1804.

“DEAR THORNTON,

“After much deliberation concerning which of the two societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge I should subscribe to, I have at length determined upon both; you will therefore oblige me if you will put down the enclosed under the signature of O. A., to the fund of the Bible Society. I would not trouble you in this if I had not lost the paper you were so good as to send me, so that I do not recollect the proper direction. I have in one or two instances beat up for recruits to the institution, but do not know whether successfully or not. I am strongly convinced that the union of the Bible Society with either of the former ones, would be productive of very good effects; if all three were united it would be best of all.

“I know your friendship is interested in every fortunate event which can befall me, and that you will hear with pleasure that I am become a fellow of All Souls. I even now begin to find the comfort of my new situation, which is, for any young man, particularly if he reads at all, certainly most enviable. I am now become, for the present, almost settled in Oxford, and a visit from you would make me quite, what I am already almost, the happiest fellow in England.

“I have, according to your recommendation, read Lord Teignmouth's ‘Sir William Jones,’ which pleases me very much, and is, I think, though rather lengthy (as the Americans say) an interesting and well done thing. As to my admiration of Sir W. Jones, it is rather increased than diminished, by seeing the tackle and component parts of which so mighty a genius was formed; and his system of study is instructive as well as wonderful. It has excited much interest in Oxford, where he is



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still remembered with admiration and affection by the senior men.

. . . . " Talking about fagging, I have been rather fagging lately, though not near so much as I ought to have done after a long vacation of military idleness,—idleness at least with respect to the main pursuits of my life. My examination will, I believe, come on in a very few days; I have, indeed, sent in my name nearly a month ago, and have been during that whole time in the pleasure of suspense. Any serious plan of study, when a man expects every day a summons to the schools, would be impossible. I have been trying my hand at logic, but soon threw it down in absolute disgust; the barbarous terms, the ridiculous methods of conveying information, and the lumber with which every thing is crowded and blocked up, are quite too much for me. I shall, perhaps, some time or other, attack the *Organon* itself, as possibly Aristotle is not answerable for the stuff of his commentators and followers; but for this examination I shall certainly not take up logic. After my degree is well got over, there will be three good years for divinity, to which I intend to give a steady application, though no application or labour can be steady enough for the importance and interest of the subject. My brother is in Westminster, where business of my aunts' has long kept him pretty closely; he is their comfort and support under affliction and sickness, and they cannot spare him.

" Believe me, dear friend,

" Your obliged and affectionate,

" REGINALD HEBER."

The editor will be forgiven for closing this part of her husband's academical life in the words of the same author from whom she has before quoted. " His university career was equally splendid to its close. In the schools his examination for his bachelor's degree, although not so much distinguished as that of many others, for accurate remembrances of the manifold divisions and subtleties of Aristotle's philosophical works, by the solution of syllogisms out

of Aldrich's logic, or of mathematical problems, was brilliant in the oratory and poetry of Greece. But his reputation was then so great and high, that no public exhibition of that kind could increase or raise it. Some men enter the schools obscure and come out bright ; others enter bright and come out obscure ; but Reginald Heber was a star whose lustre was as steady as it was clear, and would neither suffer temporary eclipse, nor 'draw golden light' from any other source of honour within the walls of a university. The year after he had taken his degree, he, almost of course, gained the university's bachelor's prize for the English prose essay. The subject was well suited to his peculiar powers, and the 'Sense of Honour' found in him a temperate and charitable Christian advocate, who vindicated its high character as a great principle of morality, but showed its necessary subjection to conscience and religion."



CHAPTER II.

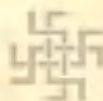
TO STRUND.

Departure from England—Gottenburg—Swedish soldiers—Mode of travelling—Hedé—Trollhätta—Falls on the Gotha—Swedish peasantry—Price of labour—Udevalla—Friderickshall—Mr. Anker—Wolf-hunting—Mr. Rosencrantz—Cascade on the Glomm—Population of Norway—Lake of Dillingen—Noëck, the kelpie of Norway—Christiania—Mr. Collet—Oesterval peasants—Fort—Cathedral—Alum works—Militia—Hedermarken—Lake Mios—Storhammer—St. Olave—Norwegian superstitions—Men of Gulbrandsdal—Colonel Sinclair—Dovre—Driostuen—Wolves—Lemings—Trondheim—Cathedral—Munkholm—Library—Rifle corps on skates—Leer Fossen—Röraas copper mines—Finns—Productions of Norway.

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TOWARDS the middle of the year 1805, Reginald Heber accompanied Mr. John Thornton on a tour to the north of Europe, which was extended through Russia, the Crimea, Hungary, Austria, Prussia, and Germany; the rest of the continent being at that time closed by war against travellers. His friends were glad to seize this opportunity of removing him from the effects of that admiration which his talents excited, and which they apprehended might, in time, injure the beautiful simplicity of his mind; an apprehension which, though natural, experience has proved to have been unfounded.

His correspondence with his family during this tour, as well as the journals which he kept through the greater part of it, will be given in the following pages.



To Mrs. Heber.

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Gottenburg, August 1, 1805.

“DEAR MOTHER,

“The uncommon beauty of the weather would, I hope, entirely quiet all your apprehensions respecting our voyage to this place, where we arrived yesterday morning. About two hours after I had finished my last letter we got on board the packet, a small black looking sloop, very little larger than the fishing smacks on the Parkgate shore. We found, however, a tolerably large and neat, though not fragrant, cabin, in which, as we were the only passengers, we had plenty of room and the choice of beds. We were, however, in such spirits with the fresh sea breeze that we had little inclination to quit the deck, and staid up till past midnight enjoying the novelty of our situation. A strong gale and the short pitching waves of the north sea, however, kept us in our beds the whole of the next day. Sea-sickness has, I think, been rather exaggerated; bad as it certainly is while you stay on deck, yet, when laid down and out of sight of the cause, I found sleeping a sure and almost immediate remedy. The weather from this time was very delightful, though the wind was rather unfavourable; we caught fish, walked the deck, studied Swedish, and learnt how to take an observation. We fell in with the Scout, armed vessel, whose appearance at first rather alarmed our captain, as she did not answer our signals. He was a man of but few words, but muttered a good deal, scratched his head, and with a very long face brought the mail on deck, with an old rusty swivel tied to it, that it might be thrown overboard in case of danger. Our uncertainty was however soon removed by her hailing us, and we enjoyed the benefit of her convoy as far as the Naze; she had been sent out on a false report of three French privateers in the Cattegat.

“On Sunday we came in sight of the tall blue mountains of Norway, stretching along our northern horizon, a rocky and almost perpendicular coast, with many fishing vessels under it, and above these some pointed Alpine hills rising to a great height. Having

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left them behind us to the west, we saw next day the Swedish coast, likewise rocky, though much less striking than our first prospect. After being kept in a most tantalizing manner for two days by a dead calm, we at length got into the river Gotha about nine o'clock yesterday, and landed after a full three hours waiting for the Custom-house officers, which time we passed in admiring the singular appearance of the harbour, without tides, and with rushes growing even in the sea, and taking sketches of some odd shaped rocks which surrounded it. On the whole it very much answered my idea of a Scotch lake, excepting that in one part there were some large oaks almost close to the beach, a phenomenon which I scarcely expected in so high a latitude. Our baggage was at first taken to the Caledonian hotel (for there are Scotchmen every where;) but we soon found that Mr. Smith, the consul, had bespoken us very neat lodgings in a tavern near his counting-house. With him we dined yesterday very sumptuously, though, according to English ideas, every thing was inverted, as we began dinner with noyau, then roast beef, and last of all, fish and desert. Our party was entirely English. We dined to-day with another gentleman in the town, to many of whom we have been introduced, and who seem inclined to show us much civility. We can just talk Swedish enough to find our way about; and in company English is so well understood, that even French has yet been very little wanted. Thornton has purchased a light, but strong and comfortable carriage; and as the roads are, we understand, the best in Europe, and the little Swedish poneys very good goers, our posting will, I hope, be prosperous.

"We have seen all the curiosities of Gottenburg, which are indeed not very numerous; the city has suffered twice in the last five years by dreadful fires, and at present upwards of one third is a heap of rubbish. From this, however, are rising new streets, on a very uniform and magnificent plan, with a spirit which bears testimony to the flourishing trade of the place. When finished, few towns of its size will be able to vie with it. It is regularly fortified, but the ramparts are much neglected, and the cannon

lying to rust under long grass. The principal streets are of very great width, with navigable canals in the middle, which communicate with the harbour on one side and with the country on the other, and afford a very singular prospect by the mixture of masts, trees, rocks, and chimneys. The houses were formerly of wood, and are still so in the suburbs; but since the late fire all new erections are of brick or stone, and generally very handsome and lofty.

“As to the general appearance of the lower classes, I can merely say they are civil and cleanly. The women have their hair *snooded* in a large knot on the crown of the head, and in fair weather wear nothing upon it but a very white and clean handkerchief; they are generally barefooted. On the whole, Thornton, who has been in Scotland, says that he is often reminded of what he saw there; and the tone of voice, which is completely Scotch, assists the deception.”

To Richard Heber, Esq.

Gottenburg, August, 1805.

“DEAR BROTHER,

“I hope you have none of you been amused with any of the good stories of privateers, which have, we understand, been lately circulated; you might else have concluded that our voyage had terminated in the harbour of Dunkirk. . . .

“Gottenburg is reckoned to hold about ten thousand people; I think, in reality, not more than six thousand. The fortifications, the canals, and the general appearance of the country are all so different to what I have seen before, that my attention has been on the stretch ever since I came here. Of the country I can as yet say nothing, and but little of any thing else. The society of the place appears very hospitable and well informed, though (as being chiefly mercantile) not particularly polished. There are, however, two or three chevaliers or ‘ridderes’ (chevaliers) of the orders of Vasa and the Polar Star, whose white crosses, and ‘*alba nautis stella refulget*,’ and who seem to be pleasing men. Not that these



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orders appear to be much thought of, being given to lawyers, architects, physicians, men of all classes, and even to the clergy. As to females, of the higher classes I mean, I suppose there are such things in Gottenburg, but I am utterly unable to give any account of them. The two parties we have been at were entirely male; and the weather is too rainy for seeing any thing gay in the streets. The lower classes of the men are, I think, taller than the English, with universally flaxen hair, and generally well made and handsome; for the women I cannot say so much: both are clean and civil. I saw some very picturesque groups, this morning, in the market-place, where was a good deal of meat and fish, but no vegetables of any sort; on enquiry, I found that, excepting green peas, none were yet to be had; yet fruit is plentiful and excellent, particularly strawberries. The claret here is very passable, and the style of dinners pleasant, without much tedious form or ceremony.

“As Gottenburg is a garrison town, I, of course, felt eager to observe the Swedish soldiers, with whom, on the whole, I am very favourably impressed; they are well-looking clean men, remarkably so, indeed, when you find that their pay is not above two-pence daily, and their uniform only changed every two or three years. Instead of sheathing their bayonets they reverse them on the musquet. The establishments of regiments and companies is much the same as of those in our service, where the company is a hundred men and four officers. The captains are distinguished by a white handkerchief tied round the left arm, a badge which originated in being worn by the king's party in the late revolution under Gustavus the Third. He, by the way, appears to be spoken of with respect and affection; more, I am inclined to think, from some expressions I have heard, than the present young king possesses, though his character appears very interesting. A gentleman to day was complaining that, since the revolution, the Diet had scarcely ever met, and unless the court was hard pressed for money, was very unlikely to do so. This surprised me, as I had always thought their sessions were as regular as those of our parliament. The king is also accused of some degree of hauteur, though he

is highly praised for a generous lofty spirit, and good intentions. On the whole, I shrewdly suspect that we shall meet with a party not much inclined to favour the measures of the present English government. The late rupture, and the contempt shown to the Swedish flag in searching the convoy are not forgotten. It is, however, very impossible to form any opinion so immediately on our entrance into a country. I shall, moreover, be extremely cautious in conversation.

“ Prince William of Gloucester and Sir Sidney Smith, are said to be very popular characters at Stockholm ; if you could get us letters of introduction from them, they would be of very great use, and there is still time to forward them.

“ I have been to day in one of the petty courts of justice, which was pretty much like an English justice’s room on a market day. ‘The packet is to sail and I must finish.’”

To Richard Heber, Esq.

Friderickshall, August 8.

“ The day after I sent off my last letters we left Gottenburg in Thornton’s newly purchased carriage, which is a small light four-wheeled cabriolet with a coach box, and a seat behind for the peasant who goes to take care of the horses. The top is so contrived as to fold up with glasses, &c., so as, when wanted, to become as warm as a close carriage ; the whole not much heavier than an English curricule and not so high ; it is drawn easily by two horses about the size of a Welch poney. The manner in which post horses are procured is as follows ; about four or five hours before you set out, you send on a person called the ‘ forbüd,’ or bespeaker, with a card of the posts where you will want horses, and the hour they are to be ready. He goes in a small cart with one horse, in which it is usual to send part of the baggage. We sent one portmanteau, into which we put as many things as were necessary for a Norway tour ; (a king’s messenger who was going to Stockholm undertook to carry the remainder of our baggage there



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old sluices were erected at a great expense close to the falls; they are now in ruins; the new ones make a considerable detour, and cost 70,000*l.* in building. Trollhätta is the property of the Navigation Company. The Gotha itself is a noble river, if river it can be called, being, in fact, a channel by which the lake discharges itself into the sea; a fresh water Bosphorus would be perhaps a better name.

“ With respect to the state of the lower classes in Sweden, our information is, of course, limited; they appear all tolerably clothed and fed, and are, perhaps, as well lodged as any peasantry in Europe; we have talked with them as much as our knowledge of the language would let us, and found them all civil and intelligent. The price of labour is from seven to ten skillings a-day; (the skilling is about three-farthings English). The system of farming seems much to resemble that in the mountainous parts of Wales; the hay crops are very light and are drawn to the barns on sledges; draining is a good deal practised, but apparently on an imperfect scale; grain tolerably well managed and thriving; the bread is chiefly oat cake. The fences to the fields consist of a great many rails of fir laid over each other like bricks in a wall, and kept together by upright stakes. The houses are built in the same manner with logs, and generally roofed with shingles or red tiles; on the roofs of cottages they place a layer of turf on which the goats are frequently seen browsing. The Churches are likewise generally of wood, painted on the outside in imitation of stone, and plentifully bedaubed with gilding and glaring colours within. Of Norway, where we only arrived this morning, I can yet say little; the people, particularly the women, seem much handsomer than the Swedes.”

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“ The country about Udevalla is very beautiful, though the woods are small and composed of young trees; these are chiefly pine and fir on the hills, and in the valleys, alder, mountain-ash,

birch, and a little oak and willow. The Church is built in the form of a cross, and though too gaudy is very handsome ; its steeple is detached. The population of Udevalla is estimated at about six thousand inhabitants : it is subject to the Bishop of Gottenburg ; it has a large free-school where Latin is taught, and English is privately taught in the town. We were told by a Swedish gentleman at Gottenburg, that the importation of all French books is forbidden.

“ *August 7.*—The country from Udevalla to Quistrun is very fine, the sea forming a magnificent lake. At the latter place an annual meeting of peasants was held on the day we arrived to settle taxes, &c. At Hodahl from the stupidity of our *forbūd* we could get no horses, and walked seven miles through a magnificent forest with fine rocks, to Swinesund, where we arrived at eleven at night, but were detained a couple of hours by the roguery of the Swedish Custom-house officer, who, on pretence of some informality in our papers, refused to let us proceed without paying a hundred and fifty rix dollars ; but when we threatened to complain of him to the government at Stockholm, and declared ourselves ready to go back, he altered his tone and begged for six rix-dollars, as the price of our passage across the river into Norway.

“ *Aug. 8th, Friderickshall.*—The houses in this town are universally of wood, and of only one story ; the inn is good, but the charges are very exorbitant, as is the case every where in Norway. We received great kindness from Mr. N. Anker, who introduced us to the best society in the place, and gave us the means of seeing every thing worthy of notice. From the castle there is a magnificent view of the town and harbour ; but, as being foreigners, we were not admitted within its walls. Prince Charles of Holstein is the governor. It is customary here, whenever the merchants give an entertainment, to hoist flags on the vessels then in harbour, and to fire their cannon. We saw the place where Charles fell ; it is now only marked by a plain wooden cross ; but formerly there was a monument with an inscription on it, till Gustavus the Third caused it to be removed ; its distance from the fort is little more than point



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blank musquet shot ; indeed the long musquets of which Marshal Saxe speaks, would certainly carry as far. Yet Mr. Rosencrantz told us that, not many years ago, there were some Swedes at Petersburg who boasted of having killed Charles with their own hands. There is a very large sugar-house here, which, with the exception of that at Trondheim, is the only one in the country. Mr. Anker has two ships employed in trading with the West Indies. We went with Mr. Anker this evening to a party in the town, where we met some very pleasant people ; almost all the young men spoke good English, a knowledge of which is considered indispensable in their mercantile pursuits. The ladies, after supper, sang ‘for Norske kiempers Födiland,’ and some other pretty Norse songs with great spirit, and very agreeably. I have been struck, indeed, with the national high spirit of the Norwegians in general. The clergy are much respected, and live in easy circumstances. Over a certain number of clergymen there is a provost elected by themselves, whose functions nearly answer to those of our rural deans.

“ A considerable degree of animosity seems to prevail between Norway and Sweden. The backwardness of the Swedish fleet during the rupture with England, was attributed by the former to private orders sent by the king, who wished to see Denmark humbled. The condition of the Norse peasantry is easy ; their daily pay for labour is equal to two shillings of our money.

“ Wolf-hunting is a very common amusement in winter ; the party go out in sledges, having a little pig in each sledge, on whose tail they tread to make it squeak ; the noise immediately brings the wolves out in such multitudes, that even a good shot is sometimes in danger.

“ *Aug. 9th.*—We went this morning with Mr. Wolff, the Consul, to Haslund, the seat of Mr. Rosencrantz, the late envoy to Petersburg, where we were nobly entertained. I was much delighted with the conversation and manners of Mr. Rosencrantz ; neither he nor his wife speak English, but are perfect masters of French. He is of a noble family, renowned in a book called ‘ The Worthies

of Denmark.' The house holds the second place in Norway for beauty and convenience; it much resembles a French chateau. The approach is through a long avenue of fir trees, and the rooms are all of the same size, about twenty-seven feet by nineteen, opening into a suite. The gardens are laid out in the old-fashioned style, with a large clock in the centre, moved by water, the invention and workmanship of a peasant. Mr. Rosencrantz has introduced larches into the country, and has planted many thousands himself, which seem to thrive well, and are certainly very superior, as timber, to the native fir. After breakfast we went to see the noble cascade on the Glomm, and the extensive saw-mills which are turned by it. The timber is, for the most part, felled at a great distance up the river, down which it is floated to the mills, not tied together or in rafts, but trusted entirely to chance. Mr. Rosencrantz has built excellent cottages for his labourers, most of whom, as well as the peasantry in general, are likewise small freeholders; this system has also been gradually taking place in Denmark since the emancipation of the boors.

"The population of Norway is rapidly increasing, and cultivation proportionably improved, without any apparent fears being entertained of a redundancy of people. Land has risen fifty per cent. in value during the last ten years. Mr. Rosencrantz, who has travelled a good deal in England, has introduced some English improvements into the system of farming, but not very extensively; he has a large dairy, and some of his cows are crossed from the English breed; the native cow is about the size of those of Cheshire, and very much resembles them; the cheese is however different, and more like that of Gloucestershire. The game laws have fallen very much into disuse. Mr. Rosencrantz spoke of game as not very plentiful, but I conceive that he spoke of it as in comparison with other districts. The Norwegian vegetables are more highly flavoured than those of most countries, which is probably owing to the great heat and rapid vegetation of their short summers; the pine apples are brought from England.

"The gentry pass nine months of the year in Christiania, and



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during the remaining three they keep open house in the country. The wages of household servants are low, not more than five or six pounds a year for a man servant ; but it is the custom for guests to give largely to the establishment of the house where they are visiting.

“Aug. 10th.—We proceeded by a wild and uninteresting country across the Glomm in a ferry to Dillingen, situated by the lake of the same name, which is renowned as being the appropriate residence of Noëck, the kelpie of Norway. He is described as a malevolent being who generally appears in the shape of a black horse. If any one succeeds in bridling him, he becomes a useful animal, and serves his master faithfully. This information we had from an English servant, married in the country, who said that a relation of his wife’s told him seriously that he had himself seen Noëck in harness, quietly drawing a plough ; but the moment the bridle was taken off, he galloped away with prodigious violence and noise, plunged into the lake, and disappeared. His favourite residence is at Dillingen, but he is occasionally seen in other parts of Norway.

“We passed through Mos, a large and very neat town, with harbour and shipping, and commanding a view of a fine country-house belonging to the late Mr. Bernard Anker, whose extensive iron works are in the neighbourhood, over a barren country to Prinsdal, from whence we had a noble view of Christiania. It was late when we entered the town, but we found very comfortable quarters at Thom’s hotel ; where, however, in compliance with the advice given us by Mr. Wolff, we made a previous bargain for every thing we wanted ; as the Norwegian innkeepers are noted for their impositions on strangers.

“Aug. 11th.—In the morning we called on Mr. Peter Anker, to whom we had letters from his cousin at Friderickshall. He gave us a very obliging reception, and an invitation to dine with him the next day. We then paid a visit to Mr. Collet, a merchant who had resided many years in London. He has a tolerable collection of pictures, one of which, a woman with a candle, he pointed

out as a Michael Angelo, but, which I think is impossible. At Uleval, Mr. Collet's country house, about two miles from Christiania, we dined, but were obliged to walk as we could get no post horses. We met a large party, among whom were three Oesterval peasants in the costume of their country; one of them was a very pretty girl of about eighteen; her hair was quite concealed under a close lace cap covered with a quantity of ribands, and she wore a great many gold and silver ornaments; but the dress was not altogether ungraceful: her father, a venerable old man with white hair, asked us to his house on our return from Trondheim; the third was the girl's lover, a gigantic wild-looking figure, a carpenter by trade, from the same neighbourhood. Mrs. Collet is not entitled to the name of *Frö*, as her husband has no office under government, though there sat at the same table the wife of a regimental surgeon, who claimed the title as the lady of a military officer.

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Mr. Collet's grounds are filled with gimcracks and whirligigs; he has a large hop garden, and has endeavoured to introduce the English hop into the country, but though the plants grow rapidly and are full of leaf, the hop never comes to perfection. The Norway hop is much less beautiful, but more hardy; I should think it might be introduced with very good effect into England, in any part of which it must *à fortiori* flourish. We went into the kennel, where was a strange mixture of Norway and English dogs of all descriptions. The farm yard is very extensive and well managed. In our tour we saw several frames or racks, of very simple construction and of all sizes, erected in airy situations for the purpose of drying the corn and hay in unfavourable seasons. Mr. Collet professes himself to be an improver on the English system, and certainly appears to understand what he is about. His oxen are entirely stall-fed in dark low houses, with the floors elevated above the ground and boarded, so that



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they always stand dry and clean, while there is space below to shovel away the manure to the dunghill, where all the drains from the different stables and cow-houses centre. Mr. Collet expressed a great desire to have an English dairy-maid, and particularly begged me to let him know if he had any chance of inducing one to come out; (the cows are here all milked by women.) He also showed much anxiety to have models of thrashing machines, or any other English novelties. I wish I may be able to procure him some, especially a receipt for making Cheshire cheese.

“The birch-tree of Norway grows to a prodigious size, and is of a beauty of which we can conceive no idea; I should think its introduction into England would be a very valuable acquisition, and very easily effected.

“*Aug. 12th.*—I bathed this morning in the harbour, which is very deep in the middle, but shallow and muddy at the sides. We went over the fort which is in bad repair; the discipline of the garrison does not seem very strict, inasmuch as we found a sentinel asleep on his post. The Danish uniform is red with green facings; the soldiers are alert in their movements, but do not seem to stand much in awe of their officers.

“The sabbath appears to be very little revered in Christiania; the public comptoirs, indeed, are shut up, but generally speaking, all classes follow their various occupations and amusements as on a week day; and in the Cathedral, to which we went for morning service, we found only four or five old women and some charity children. The clergyman, when we afterwards met him at dinner at Mr. Anker's, at Bogstat, was dressed in a green coat and striped waistcoat. Bogstat is a very magnificent place, about three English miles from Christiania, with a fine lake, and gardens laid out in the English manner; there is a good deal of bad taste, however, visible every where; and a vile summer-house which Mr. Anker is building in the most beautiful and conspicuous part of the grounds, has the worst possible effect. There is a large and very tolerable collection of paintings, made by himself in Italy, which occupies several rooms opening out of each other, and

forming a handsome suite of apartments. After seeing these we were taken to the stables, where Mr. Anker has a fine stud. The horses that come from Dovre are the most famous; they are heavy in appearance, but trot with remarkable swiftness; when harnessed to a sledge, a good one has been known to go a Norway mile in fifteen minutes¹. These horses are rarely kept up, but are driven at this rate when quite fresh and rough from grass; when tired they roll themselves on the ground. A fine one of this breed will fetch about 400 dollars, about ninety pounds of our money.

“ Mr. Anker succeeded his brother Bernard in the office of chamberlain, and, as such, though not now in the army, he is entitled, in common with all officers under the crown, to wear a uniform with two epaulets. The badge of his office is a large key and riband embroidered in gold on the skirt of his coat. The title of chamberlain is considered as the most honourable in the kingdom: all others may be obtained by money alone; but for this is also required a noble descent, with very powerful interest at court. I had a great deal of conversation with Mr. Anker respecting the state of Norway; the information he gave enabled me to correct many erroneous opinions which I had formed from the partial and exaggerated statements of others. The peasants are totally and entirely free; this had been positively denied on my previous enquiries, and I consequently took a good deal of pains to ascertain the truth, both from Mr. Anker and others, and cannot doubt the fact. There has been no hereditary nobility in Norway since their extirpation by Christian: the wealthy families are either peasants grown rich, or merchants from other countries, who have purchased the estates of the ancient possessors, and with them their privileges of nobility, where the purchaser was of noble birth in his own country.

“ We were entertained here, as well as every where else in Norway, with princely splendour and hospitality, accompanied at the same time by an endeavour, though generally a fruitless one,

¹ The Norwegian mile consists of 8223 English yards, nearly $4\frac{3}{4}$ English miles.



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to imitate English manners. We met Mr. Bagé, the engineer of Trolhätta, a modest sensible man. He is now about to be employed by the Danish government, to form a tunnel and canal between Christiania and the Mios. The king of Sweden has lately ennobled him, and he wears the blue pantaloons, &c., which are appointed as badges of nobility. He mentioned his intention of travelling in England, with a view of improving himself in engineering. Two of Mr. Anker's nephews, and a niece, were of the party, the children of a younger brother who died at Bath; they were expected to inherit the large property of the late Bernard Anker, but he left his fortune in a strange manner, and partly divided among the Royal family; his will is, however, contested. The young Norwegians are often educated, from fifteen to eighteen years old, in London, not in the best society, where they acquire a bad imitation of our manners, and an affectation of dash, with very little good taste.

“*Aug. 13th.*—We went this morning to see the military academy. There are at present but few pupils, but it seems well managed. Under the shade of some fine trees in the citadel is a monument erected to the memory of one of the young men. There is a large school in the town, and great exertions were made by Mr. Bernard Anker to procure the endowment of a university, but to this measure the Danish government objected, in order to induce the Norwegians to send all their young men to Copenhagen for education. The public library is large, and open to all the inhabitants. The librarian did not understand French, but spoke Latin fluently. He informed me that the library was founded by a private benefaction, and that a considerable and increasing sum was appropriated for its support. The room is handsome and convenient, with a gallery all round it. They have few classical books, but a good collection of modern historians. The curiosity they set the highest value on, is a handsome Bible of the reign of Eric the First. I enquired for a book which Mr. Rosencrantz had mentioned, containing a prophecy of the French revolution. The passage was pointed out to me, but being in German it was incomprehensible.

I could not help observing the eagerness and real, though studiously concealed, faith with which the librarian and Mr. Rosenkrantz, regarded some other predictions it contains concerning Denmark and Norway. The book is a commentary on the Revelations.

"The Cathedral is a handsome building; the bishop of the diocese lives at Opslo, a village about a mile from Christiania; it is, in fact, the remains of the ancient city which was destroyed by an accidental fire, or, as we learnt from some individuals, by the Swedes. Opslo is certainly the third city in point of antiquity in Norway; Storhammer perhaps the first, and Trondheim indisputably the next.

"At Christiania there is a small private theatre, in which, during the winter, the gentry of the place amuse themselves by acting Danish and sometimes French plays. During the winter dancing is a very favourite amusement, but it is not common in summer. The women make no scruple of confessing that all their clothes and finery come from England, from whence they are regularly supplied with the newest fashions. In Sweden they attempted to deny this, and said also, but I think from appearances untruly, that sufficient cloth for the men's clothes was manufactured in their own country.

"Christiania stands on an arm of the sea, amid wild romantic scenery; its harbour appears to be very secure, but is, in fact, occasionally subject to storms so violent as to drive vessels from their anchors. The Norwegians complain that their trade is not sufficiently protected by the Danes; no guard-ship is ever stationed in the port.

"The evening we spent with young Collet and a Mr. Bolton, the son of a Surry neighbour of Thornton's, whom we fell in with on our way back from Mr. Collet's on Saturday night. We went with him in his pleasure-boat to see Mr. Collet's alum-works, which are near the town. We saw the whole process, which is very curious; the alum is here chiefly produced from a kind of slate, strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is for some time exposed in heaps



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to produce decomposition, and is then roasted for five weeks to extract the sulphur.

“*Aug. 14th.*—We left Christiania this morning, as the lateness of the season would not admit of our longer stay there. On the previous evening we engaged an English servant, who had been established for many years at Christiania as innkeeper, to accompany us to Kongsvinger; he had been in the habit of going to Trondheim with travellers, and had, lately, made the journey with Messrs. Malthus and Otter. The rate of posting in Norway is sixteen skilling¹ per Danish mile for each horse; two for each horse to the peasant, who goes forward to get them ready, and about the same or a little more to the man who accompanies you. Between Roholt and Minue we past a large house and iron-works, belonging to Mr. C. Anker. The roads were dreadfully cut up by timber carriages; boards are put up by the side of the roads with the names of the proprietors of land, who are obliged to keep their respective parts in repair, inscribed on them. The country gradually improved in beauty as we approached the lake Miosen, when it becomes beyond all praise. Near Minue is a ferry, at the place where the lake discharges itself in a broad and rapid stream. On our way we saw a party of the militia go through their manœuvres; they were cavalry, the soldiers fine looking men, and the horses tolerably good, though both were heavy. They were not very expert in their evolutions and were only drilled by single rank, and told off by fours, instead of by threes as in England. The establishment of the militia is under the following regulations: during twelve years every person is obliged to appear, either on horseback or on foot, according to the extent of his property, for eight successive days for the purpose of drilling; they are assembled, for the most part, by single companies or troops, and their discipline is said to be very tolerable. In cases of necessity they are attached to the regular regiments, and are subjected to the same laws. We saw many of the foot returning home from drill, but none in the

¹ The Danish skilling is worth something less than a halfpenny of our money; that of Sweden is nearly double the value.



field; they were, for the greater part, stout men and clean, but had not a very soldier-like appearance. The time of their going on permanent duty is not fixed, but depends on local convenience. After they have served for twelve years, they are no longer obliged to attend drill, but continue for an equal length of time subject to be called out in case of invasion, or any other very urgent necessity; and they keep their arms till the expiration of that period. Wooden magazines, elevated on stone posts like English granaries, are erected in central parts of each district, and beacons are placed on the tops of the hills. It should appear from hence that the greater part of the population are armed, which circumstance will account for their apparent freedom, in spite of the arbitrary government under which they live. The province of Hedemarken, through which we are now passing, is said to be infamous on account of the dishonesty of its inhabitants; indeed in the southern parts of Norway in general, as well as along the sea coast, the manners of the people are much more brutal, and their morals looser, than in the interior.

“ From Minue to Morstuer the road runs along the border of the Mios lake, and the scenery is more beautiful than any thing I have seen; Thornton was reminded of the Cumberland lakes, but gave this the preference. The foliage of the birch adds much to its beauty; the road is good though hilly. At Morstuer we slept and found a tolerable inn.

“ *Aug. 15th.*—Our route to Grillum still lay by the side of the lake, of which, however, it is impossible to be weary, from the constant variety of scenery and beauty of the mountainous outlines of its shores. The width of the lake varies every stage from that of a lake to a river. Near Grillum we intended to have gone to the site of Storhammer, and searched for Runic antiquities, but were prevented by a heavy fall of rain; this we regretted much, though Mr. Anker had assured us there was nothing worth seeing; we wished however to judge for ourselves, but could not wait for the chance of more favourable weather, as our *forbiød* was gone on to order horses; when travellers adopt this method of bespeaking



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horses, they ought to be careful to allow sufficient time between the stages to admit of their taking views of the country, or seeing whatever is most remarkable ; for want of this precaution we found much inconvenience. Storhammer is situated in a most beautiful and fertile country on the headland of the lake. It is almost perfectly the centre of Norway, and I cannot conceive a more likely place for a general assembly of the tribes. We asked the post-master at Grillum whether there were any ruins or vestiges of stone circles, &c., but he could give us no satisfactory information.

“Between Freng and Littlehammer is a fountain issuing from a large rock, which the peasants pointed out to us as the scene of one of St. Olave's adventures ; his name and titles are rudely engraved on the rock. We could not understand whether the miracle is said to have consisted in his producing water, like Moses, by striking the rock with his riding-staff, or merely by inscribing his name on the stone, but the words ‘riding-staff’ were repeatedly mentioned by our informant. The scenery about Littlehammer is very beautiful. I searched in vain for runic remains, or any vestiges of the hammer of Thor. The Norwegians preserve but very few of their ancient traditions, and what they have recorded reach no further back than the periods of their own internal feuds, and their quarrels with Sweden. Here is no clanship, no hereditary distinctions, or hereditary bards, to preserve the memory of their ancient warriors. It is possible, however, that they still have more clear ideas on these subjects than have yet been discovered ; and that a perfect acquaintance with their language, and a longer residence among them, might bring many of their romances to light. Their superstitions chiefly appear to consist in a fear of sorcery, and a belief in several evil spirits called by the general name of Neiss ; some of these appear like ‘the spectre hound in Mann,’ in the shape of a large rough white dog, with long ears. Of fairies we have yet been able to learn nothing ; the ancient Gothic name of Dvergar, by which they were universally known, is now appropriated only to mortal dwarfs. They believe in presages of death by lights and mystic noises. The Finns are held in great

terror by them, as powerful diviners and sorcerers, who are able to kill men by shooting at them when they are absent.

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"*Aug. 16th.*—The country to Moshuuse Star continues very beautiful, with the lake diminished into a narrow but very rapid river where it is confined by mountains, and then expanding to a great extent. Beauty seems to be more the characteristic of Norwegian scenery, in these districts, than grandeur. At Korsegarder the lake becomes permanently a rapid river, under the name of Logan, and runs through a wilder and less beautiful country; the inn where we slept was a mere hovel. We here began to recognize the simplicity of manners of the Norway peasants; the men who went with the horses all shook us by the hand at parting, were very talkative and lively, and addressed us with great frankness and familiarity, some of them giving us, out of pure good will, tolerably sound thwacks on the back and shoulders.

"*Aug. 17th.*—From Korsegarder to Breiden, our route lay through a country of a more mountainous and rugged appearance; Breiden is on the banks of a small but very beautiful lake, as clear as glass, and surrounded by mountains. We were ferried over to a peasant's house on the opposite side, where we dined. Here we met, for the first time, some of the gigantic figures and long yellow hair of the men of Gulbrandsdal; hitherto we had been disappointed in the appearance of the people of Norway, but we now began to see many fine looking men, though certainly not so many as we had been taught to expect; they were uniformly of fair complexions, with red bonnets on their heads, and dressed in plaid cloth, with garters of very lively colours tied in large bows at their knees. The women wear enormous buckles, which make a clinking noise as they walk, and high-heeled shoes, which gives them an appearance of height, though they are not taller, perhaps hardly so tall, as in many parts of Europe. Their dress consists of a coarse loose shift fastened round the throat, no stays, and only one dark coloured petticoat. Sometimes, however, they wear a waistcoat without sleeves, made exactly like that of a man, their hair snooded



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round with tape, and tied back from the forehead, hanging down behind in long ringlets. The houses are a good deal ornamented with carving, sometimes done very neatly, and the doors are painted with flowers in very lively colours. Stoves, which are used in the southern parts of Norway, are here rarely seen. The natives adhere to their ancient wide chimney in the corner of the room, made to project with a salient angle, which is supported by an iron bar; their form is very convenient, and might be introduced with advantage into an English cottage; the tops of the chimneys are sometimes covered with a little dome to exclude snow, with lateral perforations for the smoke. In Sweden they have a small trap-door to answer the same purpose. Near Breiden we passed by the spot where Sinclair was defeated¹.

"From Oldstad to Tofte the road is bad and hilly. Near the former place we saw the ruinous effects of a flood in 1789, which was caused by the bursting of the sides of a lake in the mountains; twenty-six villages were at once destroyed. At Tofte the ascent commences to the Dovre mountains, which, though they are reckoned by their inhabitants to be nearly the highest land in Europe, do not appear very striking or lofty, but resemble much the north-country moors of England; in winter the snow may possibly be deep, but now, even on the highest peaks, very little was visible. We had a dreary and uninteresting stage to Jerkin; the people here were excessively delighted with Pontoppidan's map of Norway, which we had with us, and laughed with surprize and pleasure at finding the road marked out from their own houses to Kongswold. On our left hand we passed the highest peak of Dovre, which did not however appear very high, and had but little snow, even on the northern side. We slept at Kongswold; the inns on the Dovre are all clean and comfortable; they are built by the

¹ Colonel George Sinclair, with a considerable army of Scotch soldiers, was defeated by a band of Norwegian peasantry, at the Pass of Kringelen, in the year 1612. He had been enlisted in the service of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in one of his wars against Christian the IVth, and was endeavouring to penetrate through Norway into Sweden when this event took place.—ED.



crown, and have many independencies and privileges allowed them in consideration of their furnishing horses and provisions in the winter for government purposes, and for all the poor people who possess passports. A wild and formidable stage of two Norway miles brought us to Driostuen. Our carriage was thought too heavy for a pair of horses, so we got saddle-horses, and sent it on empty; the road runs along the banks of the Driva, one of the three rivers to which Dovre gives; it flows to Malde; the other two are the Glomm and the Dalhl, the former of which falls into the Cattegat, and the latter into the gulph of Bothnia.

Aug. 18th.—This day, Sunday, we passed at Driostuen; our halt here gave us an opportunity of observing the manners and way of living of the richer peasants. Our host was a man of considerable wealth; besides the farm he held from the crown, he told us that he had two other freeholds, that he sold three hundred head of cattle every year, and kept above a hundred and twenty milch cows, and three hundred goats. He had given three thousand dollars as a marriage portion to each of his two eldest daughters. Driostuen is too cold for the growth of corn, in consideration of which he had an allowance of corn from the other crown farms in the neighbourhood. The house resembled other Norwegian cottages, but was inferior to many; and his own appearance, and that of all his family, were as far removed from any thing like wealth as could well be imagined. Yet in some respects his housekeeping was liberal; his table was spread for four meals a day, always with meat on Sundays, and generally throughout the week. He had extensive store-houses for salt meat and fish, as well as for oat flour, hops, malt, butter, and cheese; the luxuries of fowls, eggs, and vegetables, do not come within the calculation of a Norwegian peasant's wishes. The greatest simplicity of manners reigns within this valley, in some respects almost approaching to Arcadian elegance; the inhabitants were all most perfectly without shyness or coldness towards strangers, and they took great pains to understand and answer our questions. One of the girls had a sort of guitar with five strings, which Thornton found her playing



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on to call some calves up from pasture; after a little solicitation she let us hear several tunes, most of them lively. On being asked to sing, she refused because it was Sunday; but on a sign from her father she ran to fetch her elder sisters, and a little brother, who began singing Psalms very agreeably, till the old man and his son Knute joined the chorus, which they did with the true parish clerk twang. They all read the Psalms out of a Psalm book. We afterwards were told by Mr. Leganger, at Trondheim, that the schoolmaster of the district, makes a regular progress from village to village, having his meat and lodging with the principal farmers; and all the inhabitants who cannot read, are obliged by law to go to him for instruction: he receives a very trifling fee from each person, about two or three stivers, and his whole annual income does not exceed twenty-five dollars a year; food and lodging are, indeed, supplied to him gratis during his journeys. The priests are obliged to examine the children annually in reading and writing, and to give in a statement of their abilities to the bishop. Bibles are costly and are seldom possessed except by the richer sort of peasants; they almost all have Luther's catechism and the Psalm book, which also contains the Epistles and Gospels for each Sunday.

"We spent this evening in a very long and fatiguing scramble towards the summit of the mountain; we reached a very considerable height, but though we saw others still above us, yet I am inclined to believe that one of the points we attained was more than two thousand feet above Driostuen. I had no accurate means of ascertaining this, and could only judge by comparison with the other hills around it, and by the time the sunbeams continued on it. We descended very rapidly, and yet were full two hours in reaching the base.

"*Aug. 19th.*—We left Driostuen by Rösen and Beirndale, the valley of the bears, which by the account of the peasant who accompanied us, are still very frequently found in it. Wolves are very numerous and troublesome; they have already, this year, worried several cows, and, what is uncommon, have bitten some

peasants; they frequently tear and mangle cows without devouring any more of them than the bowels and kidneys. The country we passed through was very woody and savage. During this stage we saw the cow-pipe, an instrument five feet long, made out of the bark of the birch-tree, with a rude but not unmusical sound. The master of the farm at Driostuen accompanied us the first stage, and seemed neither ashamed to expect or receive the usual sixpence *drichspengar*; we shook hands with him and parted good friends. We passed Stuen, Sundset, Birkager, crossed a ferry over the Driva, and found the road to Sognas excessively bad. During this day's journey we saw several lemmings¹; the fable of their dropping from the clouds does not seem yet to be quite lost; it was mentioned to us by a peasant, though not as a thing he credited; he added, however, that they always appear in swarms after thick rainy weather.

"Aug. 20th.—At Bye, Mr. Bootle mentions in his journal, that there was a capital inn in his time; there is now no post-house there; this change frequently happens in Norway, where the situation of *gestgevir* is often held by different farmers in annual rotation. It is accounted a gainful office, which I can easily conceive. At Malhuus we found an excellent farm-house, with more apparent symptoms of wealth about it, in the form of silver tea-spoons, forks, and coffee-pot, &c., than in any we had yet seen; it is situated in a very beautiful and fertile country, the landscape of which reminded me of some of Poussin's; every cottage has its own hop ground and potatoe garden, which give the scene a rich and flourishing appearance; some of their fences are remarkably elegant, with upright slender sticks: the corridors to the houses, which we had observed in the southern parts of Norway, are here no longer seen, probably on account of the increased price of timber; the woods are almost exclusively birch.

"The approach to Trondheim is extremely beautiful, between high rocks, interspersed with many gentlemen's seats and gardens,

¹ A species of rat.

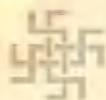


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though not laid out in the best taste¹. On ascending a steep hill, we came suddenly in sight of the city, with its Cathedral, fortifications, and various buildings, white and glittering in the sun, in the centre of a most magnificent bay, land-locked with mountains, and covered with sails of all descriptions. The whole appearance of the town is imposing; the streets are wide, with good-looking white-washed houses, and a large market-place in the centre, where there is a conduit with a constant supply of fresh water. We met with very comfortable accommodations at Holt's tavern. In the evening we went to the Cathedral and the citadel; the Cathedral has been built at many different times. The original fabric, which forms the present chapter-house, was built by St. Olaf, and dedicated to St. Clement. The next part, in point of antiquity, is the south transept, built by Harold Harderaade in the year 1060, and dedicated to St. Mary; it was repaired and beautified in 1183 by Archbishop Eisten, who also erected the circular chancel, the choir, the tower, and the north transept. The nave and the two western towers, which are now in ruins, are apparently of the same style as Melrose Abbey, and were built by Archbishop Sigurd in 1248. The whole building is much defaced by different conflagrations, pillaging, and by attempts to beautify it. In the years 1338, 1431, and 1522 it was burnt; in 1551 it was plundered by some Flemish pirates, who carried off several of its marble pillars; in 1689 the spire, which

¹ It is customary to erect monuments in the gardens of the Norwegian nobility, to commemorate any remarkable event; the following lines were translated by Mr. Reginald Heber, from an inscription intended to perpetuate the memory of the friendship of two persons who were living at the time it was written.

" May every light-winged moment bear
A blessing to this noble pair.
Long may they love the rural ease
Of these fair scenes, and scenes like these;
The pine's dark shade, the mountain tall,
And the deep dashing water-fall.
And when each hallowed spirit flies
To seek a better paradise,
Beneath this turf their ashes dear,
Shall drink their country's grateful tear;
In death alike and life possessing,
The rich man's love, the poor man's blessing."



was a hundred and ten ells high, was blown down, and the new one consumed by lightning in 1719. It is still, however, a noble fabric, with many remains of beautiful carving, especially about the windows, where it occasionally peeps out from under a coat of barbarous rough-cast. The inside is heaped up with four or five stories of galleries, having glass windows like ship cabins; many of the pillars are said to be of marble, but the whole is so bedaubed and blocked up, that nothing can be made of them. On each side of the Altar is a small Chapel, with a choir and a rail round it, fitted up with cushions for the use of those persons who go to Church on the Saturday evening previous to their receiving the Sacrament; in one of these is a picture of a Bishop Pontoppidan, who, as far as I can learn, was father to Erick the Krakenist. The present entrance into the Church is in the north transept; the south transept contains a great staring monument to the memory of Mr. Thomas Angell, a rich merchant of Trondheim, and a great benefactor to the town. He died in 1765, leaving an immense sum of money to be laid out in public benefactions. A free-school, where Latin and Greek are taught, an asylum for old maids, and various other institutions, either formed or improved, are the fruits of his liberality. We were shown a vault in the cathedral, in which it is the custom to bury all such military commandants as die during their command over Trondheim. The Cathedral is now called Dom Kirke, from the dome over the Altar; its ancient name was St. Olaf Kirke.

“ The works and fortifications of Trondheim have been once very considerable, but are now wisely neglected, though still kept neat, and the ramparts turfed over. The situation of the town itself is perfectly indefensible; it has often suffered dreadfully by fire, as well as by the inroads of Swede and Flemish pirates. It was built by Olaf Truggeson, in the year 997; in 1522 it was much damaged by lightning; in 1551 it was plundered by the Flemish pirates, and by the Swedes in 1564, and burnt down by an accidental fire in 1681. A little to the north-east of the town is shown the spot where Harold Haarfagre held his court. On an



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islet in the bay, and forming a very conspicuous object from most parts of the town, stands Munkholm, formerly a monastery, and now a fortress and state prison, called *la Bastille du Nord*; it was the place where the head of Haco Jail was exposed, as well as that of his treacherous servant, by Olaf Truggeson.

“ *Aug. 21st.*—We called on Mr. Justice Raad Knudtzen, and were introduced through his counting-house with much solemnity. We found him a good-natured man, and very civil and serviceable. He took us to see Munkholm, or Monk’s Island, which lies about an English mile from the shore; the water in the harbour was very shallow. At present there are but few prisoners in the fortress, and none, properly speaking, of state: there is one officer, who, for having challenged his colonel, is confined more strictly than any of the others, never being allowed to leave his room. A man of the name of Pascal Powli, formerly a workman of Mr. Bolton’s at Birmingham, is in prison for coining; and we also saw a very old man who had been confined there for above fifty years, and had lost, in a great measure, the use of his faculties; we were much moved by his appearance, and the answers which he gave. On being asked how old he was, he answered three hundred years. His crime was variously reported; some said he was sent there by his relations for violent behaviour to his father; others, as being a spendthrift; and Mr. Leganger said, as being mad. A pretty government this, where a man is shut up for his whole life, and three or four different reasons given for his imprisonment, all equally uncertain! He is of a good family, the son of an admiral, and was himself, when first confined, a lieutenant in the navy; at present he is possessed of considerable property, and has a comfortable allowance made him in prison. Mr. Knudtzen has long since been empowered to release him, but he steadily refuses to return to a world which has so long forgotten him. Munkholm fortress is in bad order; its governor is a very old and infirm man, who expressed a wish merely to live to see some projected alterations brought to bear. We were shown a chamber where one Grippenfeldt, a minister of state, was confined many years under a false accusation,



and they pretend to point out the place worn by his finger in a stone table, round which he constantly walked. This Grippenfeldt was a learned man, and had studied at Oxford. Professor ———, of Copenhagen, mentions in his travels having seen his name on the university books, and his picture in the Bodleian gallery. Mr. Knudtzen's son, a fine lad of nine or ten years old, showed us some cannon balls, calling them potatoes for Englishmen. Four Dutch East Indiamen were lying in the Roads, which had been driven in by some English cruizers during the late war, and their cargoes (in despair of ever getting out) were consigned to Mr. Knudtzen.

"We called, with Mr. Knudtzen on Mr. Meirke, a merchant to whom we had also a letter of introduction from Mr. Wolfe. We found him a most valuable acquaintance, sensible and gentleman-like, and very hospitable and friendly. In the evening we saw the museum, which adjoins the public library; it is a small square room, containing, among antiquities, minerals, &c., the bones of one of the ancient petty kings of Norway, who refused to submit to Harold Haarfagre. They were found in a tomb in a small island on the coast, and corroborate the account given by Snoors Sturleson, of his having buried himself alive; his sword was found run through his body, as if he had thrown himself on it after he had entered the tomb. We were shown a sword which belonged to one of Harold's principal attendants; the handle is adapted for a very small hand (I have observed the same circumstance in other Saxon, Danish, and even Roman swords) the blade very broad.

"The library consists of about thirteen thousand volumes, well arranged in a small room with stalls; the librarian, Mr. Helsen, is also *chef des mines* at Røraas; his daughter had been sometime betrothed to the under-master of the school, according to the Norwegian custom of betrothing several years before marriage. This was also the case with Mr. Meirke, who called his intended 'ma fille.'

"Aug. 22d.—We went this morning with Mr. Meirke and Mr. Thayl, a Dutchman, to call on the Governor-general Von Kraagh,



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a very fine old man, with more of the manners of the real '*vielle cour*' than any one I ever saw. His house was built a short time ago, and is entirely composed of logs, which he refused to have either painted or papered, through his zeal for the ancient customs of Norway; it is situated on an eminence, with an avenue principally of young oaks, all looking very sickly, and the grounds beautifully laid out in the English manner. The Governor's son, Captain Von Kraagh, is a great agriculturist. We dined with Mr. Meirke, and spent the evening with his mother, Lady Lewson, where we met with a large party, and were amused by witnessing several peculiar traits of Norwegian manners; their dinners and even their suppers are served with a profusion, not unaccompanied with elegance, of which we have, in England, no idea; at the end of which, each guest rises and drinks the health of the mistress of the house; they then bow to each other and to their host, and hand the ladies out of the room.

Among the party at supper was Colonel Bang, the Commandant of the rifle corps of the northern division of Norway; two companies of from three to four hundred men, are always stationed in the Trondheim district, and as many at Roraas, all selected from the miners at the latter place, and are drilled in the usual manner; two battalions of about six hundred men, stationed in the north and south of Norway, are drilled in the winter on skates; these men are only called out twice a year, but they have frequent private drills for recruits. When they exercise in skates they have their rifles slung, and carry a staff in their hands, flattened at the end to prevent its sinking into the snow, and to assist them in the leaps they are sometimes compelled to take when going down hill, which we were told they do with great rapidity, over such obstacles as obstruct their progress. The only difference in their method of drawing up is, that in winter they allow between the files room to turn in the skates, which they do by changing the right foot by an extraordinary motion, which would seem enough to dislocate the ankle. We examined a pair of these skates; they are not above six or eight inches broad, and

of different lengths, that worn on the left foot being from seven to nine feet long, the other not more than four or five, and chiefly used as a means of directing the other.

“ *Aug. 24th.*—We saw the city train-band reviewed by the general; a perfect burlesque, worse than the worst volunteers ever were, or ever will be; they were armed with rusty musquets, and long three-edged swords, and wore cocked hats, with long blue coats like our bell-men or town-criers; they are only called out once a year.

“ *Aug. 25th.*—Captain Von Kraagh took us this morning to see the two cascades of Leer Fossen, formed by the river Nid, on his father's estate; they are very noble waterfalls, but I do not think the fall is so much as ninety feet, which they are both said to be. The governor has engravings of them, which give a very inadequate idea of their grandeur; he told me that he found great difficulty in procuring an engraver. Very extensive sawing mills are erected on the side of one of these cascades, which act on the principle of a spinning wheel; there is a salmon fishery at the other fall. We dined at the governor's, where we met a large party, all in uniform. The governor told me that agriculture had been improving very rapidly of late years in Norway; wheat will only thrive in very sheltered situations, but barley and oats come to great perfection; potatoes were first introduced by the governor, who imported some hundred tons, and distributed them gratis to the peasantry; they are now become a common article of consumption. About Trondheim all kinds of vegetables come to great perfection; but, generally speaking, the edible vegetables of the country are few: berries of several sorts, such as cranberries, wortleberis, multi-berries, (a fruit not very unlike a mulberry, which grows in bogs on a creeping plant resembling saxifrage) strawberries, and mountain-ash berries are in common use and much eaten with meat; whenever they appear on a table, you may be sure that a joint of meat is, sooner or later, to make its appearance.

“ On the evening of the 25th we left Trondheim much gratified with the hospitality and kindness which we had received; the grand



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baillie, Mr. Angell, furnished us, in a very obliging manner, with passports. The first part of our journey was on the same road by which we had entered the town. At Malhuus we saw the rich peasant whose plate we had admired so much ; but his appearance very little accorded with his wealth ; he was a miserable dirty fellow, perfectly drunk. Drunkenness is a very prevailing vice among the Norwegian peasantry, and is generally made a part of their recreation on Sundays and other festivals. St. John's day is one of their principal festivals. Mr. Knudtzen, junior, kindly insisted on accompanying us to Röraas ; he travelled in a gig without springs, but resting on long pliable shafts of birch. We passed a beautiful but savage country through Bogen, Singsaas, and Hoff, through roads rendered scarcely passable by the constant carriage of copper from Röraas, which is conveyed in one-horse carts with a driver to each. We had hoped to reach this latter place on the 26th, but were benighted, and slept at a cottage, the habitation of a deaf and dumb woman.

“ *Aug. 27th.*—We arrived at Röraas, and were lodged and hospitably entertained by the deputy superintendant of the mines. Mr. Knoph, the inspector of the mines, took us over a desolate stony heath to the Storvatz mine, which was one of the first discovered. From this mine thirty thousand *shippunds* of copper ore are annually taken, which produce, in money, from twelve to thirteen thousand dollars ; each *shippund* is equal to three hundred and twenty Norway pounds, and three *shippunds* and a half make a ton. The descent into this mine is so gradual, that horses in carts go with ease the whole way. Its length is about a third of an English mile. The different chambers are large and airy, and with the help of the torches carried by our guides, we were able to obtain a very accurate idea of the courses of the copper veins. The miners were blasting the rock in various places, the noise occasioned by which struck me as being much exaggerated by travellers.

“ On our return we saw the founderies where the ore is smelted. About seven hundred persons are employed at these

forges; the wages of an ordinary workman are from three to six dollars a month, and of a smelter eight. Charcoal is principally used in the works, and the annual consumption is 30,000 last, or 360,000 ton. These smelting-houses are near the town. Røraas is situated on the side of a hill, at the junction of the rivers Haa and Hittre; it is of a good size, with spacious streets and comfortable houses; the Church is large and handsome, but the steeple is disfigured by being painted like an undertaker's card. There are several family burying places, and one public vault open to any one, and perfectly accessible, there being no lock on the door; we looked down into it and saw a great many coffins. There is a depot of arms in the town and two old cannon.

"From the mines we went on to see a colony of Finns settled in the neighbourhood; we rode about a Norwegian mile and a half to the banks of the lake Oresund, where we embarked in a leaky boat, in very bad weather for a voyage of a similar length; we reached Brehhe that evening, a small village containing seven families of about thirty persons; it is situated in a very bleak neighbourhood, but not altogether ill adapted for pasturage. The summers are here very short, and the winters extremely severe, with snow often lying higher than a man's head. There are many wolves but no bears. We slept on boards covered with deer skins.

"*Aug. 28th.*—Continued our expedition over some of the most desolate country we have yet seen, of rock mixed with rotten bog; the rock covered with lichen, and the bog with multiberries; here and there we saw woods of miserable birch, and frequent pools and small lakes. A snow-storm overtook us as we crossed this dreary region, and we suffered much from the cold. A group of reindeer appeared amid the rocks, snuffing the air strongly, and thrusting out their noses. At length we arrived at a Finn's tent, made exactly like a Terra del Fuego wigwam, of boughs of trees and sods, with here and there a skin. The family received us very hospitably, and gave us rein-deer cheese and milk; it consisted of about eight persons, including two servants. One old man of seventy-eight, who



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The south-west district or province of Christiansund is of a very different appearance ; though mountainous, it is fertile, with a climate so temperate as to admit of the growth of oak timber. These three districts compose the southern and most valuable part of Norway. The province of Bergen consists, as we were told, of wild mountains and innumerable fiords and lakes ; neither the province nor its capital seem to be much known to the inhabitants of the southern district. Bergen is said to be chiefly peopled by foreigners, who have settled there for the purpose of trading in the fish brought from the northern parts of the coast. The province of Trondheim is chiefly formed of beautiful narrow valleys, fiords, and mountain streams. The soil of the country is, as may be expected, not generally very fertile, though in favourable situations it is rich, and bears a high rent and price. Its chief vegetable production is timber. Towards the north it diminishes much in size, and on the high mountains fir will not thrive ; the birch is more hardy, and grows to a prodigious size. The fir is of two sorts, white and red ; the latter of which is considered the most valuable. The longest and best deals are all shipped for England, and the shorter ones are sent to Ireland and France ; the duty levied being, in England, on the *number*, and in the latter countries on the *size* of the planks. The white fir, inferior as it is to the red for general purposes, is sometimes preferred to it, as being less liable to shrink. No trade is carried on in timber between England and Trondheim.

“ In valuable minerals Norway is by no means rich, except in the neighbourhood of Røraas ; the silver mine at Kongsberg is abandoned as not paying its own expenses. Its animal productions are very numerous ; the domestic ones are of the same species as those of Holstein, and not very different from the same class in Yorkshire. Bears, wolves, and the animal which I take to be the lynx, are all found, though the latter are uncommon. Game is of course very plentiful in the wilder parts of the country, but much thinned towards the south ; game laws are unknown in the north ; hares, the chase of which forms the principal sport, are less

abundant, I think, than in England. The uro gallus by all accounts is not very plentiful. The lemmings I have mentioned. Of the eagle we heard but little ; the large horned owl is often found, but not a very common bird ; its plumage is remarkably beautiful. On the Fiallds, a bird is found about the size of a pewit, of a bright lemon-colour. In winter it is a very common occupation of the peasants to kill immense quantities of game on the Dovre and other mountains, and send them down to Christiania and Trondheim, at which season it is excessively cheap. Snakes of a large size are not unfrequent, and Thornton found one as we were climbing Dovre, similar to the blue and white one of England.

“ The breed of horses is good, and in their natural state they are able to defend themselves resolutely against wolves ; in the summer they live on the mountains, and are brought down in autumn for sale into the valleys, where they may often be bought cheap. The wolf-dog of Sweden is uncommon, if not unknown ; nor are the Norway dogs at all distinguished from those of England. The rein-deer are universally known.

“ Whales are, I apprehend, rarely thrown on the coast, if one may judge from the extravagance of the lies told of one which was caught while we were at Trondheim. The method of fishing, as well as of bird-catching, is by night, with lights, nets, and spears. By what I observed at Trondheim, I should imagine that it was on cod, not herring, that the principal subsistence of the inhabitants depended. The cod is distinguished as being either dried in the air, or salted on the rocks ; the first is called stock-fish, the other klipfiska.

“ It must be observed, that the Norwegian domestic animals have been much improved by crossing their breeds with those of England. We saw a very fine English setter for sale in the market-place at Trondheim.”



CHAPTER III.

STRUND TO PETERSBURG.

Upsala—Dr. Afzelius—Dannemora mines—Stockholm—Charles XII.—Gulf of Bothnia—Abo—Finnish peasantry—Agriculture—Superstitions—Unpopularity of the king of Sweden—Petersburg—General appearance of the Russians—Character—Food—Manners—Houses—Winter amusements—Sledges and carriages—Theatres—Greek Clergy—The Taurida—The great palace—Popularity of the Emperor—His character and appearance.

To Richard Heber, Esq.

Stockholm, September 14.

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“ WE arrived here this morning, and after so long an ignorance of all relating to our friends or our country, I need not mention the pleasure with which we caught hold of our packets of letters. . . . Excepting Upsala and Dannemora, our journey has taken in nothing very remarkable, and concerning Norway, the *memorabilia* are too numerous for a letter, and must be reserved for our future conversations. In general, it may be said to have an uninteresting shell, with one of the richest and most beautiful kernels in the world. The neighbourhood of Friderickshall is certainly striking, but far inferior in beauty to the romantic descriptions and drawings which I have seen of it; and the people, who affect to despise the Swedes, fall far short of them both in civilization and honesty. The western coast, Bergen, Christiansund, &c., we did not see; by all accounts, the manners are almost as wild, and the country quite as savage, as in the neighbouring regions of Labrador and Greenland. Yet hence the wealth of Norway is chiefly derived; and the innumerable *fiords*, and *sunds*, which intersect the country, while they

separate the people from all commerce with the interior, supply almost the entire Mediterranean with fish, and are the means of accumulating very considerable wealth to individuals and the government. I saw some of these vessels loaded, and it was a very singular sight; they were filled up not only to the hatchways, but even half up the mast; and the captain had literally formed a burrow for his bed with fish packed all round him. This was at Trondheim; at Christiansund every thing stinks of cod and herring, the refuse of which is the usual and almost the only fodder for their cattle. A cow will make a luxurious meal of stinking salmon; and you may conceive how delightful, in this country, is the *balmy* breath of a heifer. The cattle are soon fattened on this food, but acquire an unmanageable ferocity, and their nature is totally changed.

“ The formidable mountains towards Sweden present a terrible scene of cold and barrenness. At Rõraas, where are their principal copper-mines, no corn or garden-stuff will grow, and in winter quicksilver is frozen. We staid here a day or two, and went a day's journey into the mountains in quest of a small tribe of Laplanders, or Finns, as the Danes call them, who have been, time immemorial, wanderers in this neighbourhood. In the valleys we had been tormented by heat, but in this inhospitable tract it snowed fast, and probably does so occasionally through the whole summer. The fir-trees were no longer visible, and all the wood that remained was some stunted birch in the sheltered situations; at last these, too, disappeared, and nothing was seen but rotten bog, and rocks covered with lichen, a white mealy moss, which has more the appearance of a leprosy than a pasture. In short, I could easily conceive how a Swedish army, in the time of Charles XIIth. had been entirely destroyed by the cold in an attempt to cross these terrible *fielles*, (fells,) and was not a little glad to warm myself in the miserable wigwam of the people of whom we were in quest. Their huts are exactly resembling those of the Tchutski, given in Cook's last voyage, but are neither so large nor so high; and they still preserve their race, language, and dress unmingled with those



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of their neighbours, from whom they also differ very remarkably in person, being much shorter, with round faces, and wide mouths. Their dress is generally made of sheepskin, with the wool turned inward. We drank rein-deers' milk, and stored ourselves with sufficient venison for our journey into Sweden. For a bottle of brandy and a rix-dollar they were so grateful that they would willingly have loaded us with a whole buck. Before this expedition we had intended to sell the carriage, and to go on horseback over the mountains to Faklun ; but we were now satisfied that we should gain no time by such a species of *nearest way*.

“ Yet in spite of this inhospitable frontier, the interior of Norway is a most delightful and interesting country. Hedemarken, Gulbrandsdale, Trondheim and Oesterdal, would hardly give up the palm of beauty and fertility to the finest valleys of Wales and Cumberland ; and the appearance of comfort, and even wealth, in the cottages of the peasants, is, as a general characteristic, far beyond any thing of the kind in our own country. I was surprised, at first, at the great apparent liberty of all classes ; but soon found reason to attribute the mildness of their government to the weakness of the ruling nation, and the circumstance that every peasant in Norway is armed and disciplined.

“ There are, however, many injurious laws, of which the principal is the distinction apparent between the peasants and burghers. They are completely distinct castes ; the peasant may grow rich, but his son, by the obligation of military service, is precluded from all elevation of rank, and remains as plain and ignorant as his father. There are, however, no doubt, many advantages which result from this state of society ; and if it were not for the frosts of winter, the torrents of spring, and the lemmings of autumn, few people would be so happy as a Norwegian peasant. These two last plagues are peculiar to the country ; we past by whole farms which the mountain torrents, from the melted snow, had desolated ; they were covered with large stones, as thick as the shingly part of the sea-coast, and not a blade of grass could be seen. Of the lemming, you will find an accurate, though rather

exaggerated, account in 'Bewick's Quadrupeds;' they descend at uncertain periods from the mountains, where we saw great numbers, as large as little rats, of a dun colour, with three black stripes on their back. They are a plague little inferior to a swarm of locusts. With these drawbacks, you will not wonder that, notwithstanding their rich soil and delightful summers, the corn of Norway is, in a great measure, imported from England. Their cultivation is, however, rapidly improving, and the late introduction of potatoes by General Von Kraagh, has already caused a prodigious alteration in their comforts. The principal apprehension at present arises from the too rapid destruction of their forests, to the existence of which they attribute, with apparent reason, the superior mildness of their climate to countries under the same latitude. Their timber-trees are entirely fir, and, I think, inferior in size to those of Sweden. The larch has been introduced, and thrives well. Bears and wolves are still common; the first only are objects of apprehension to a man; they are brown, and as big as a moderate calf. In Oesterdal few barns are without some of their skulls nailed up as trophies.

"Tell — I have not been able to get her any yellow hair; in truth, there is very little to be had: the hair is almost universally flaxen or light brown, and the complexions, figure, and very accent of the people are almost entirely English. Their songs, of which I contrived to collect a few, are in the same measure, and frequently almost in the same language as the old English; and many apparent differences only arise from the vile system of spelling, which the Danish Government has introduced to make it different from Swedish. The genius of the language, however, certainly differs from ours, and we must, I think, have got our grammar from some quarter distinct from Scandinavia. An Englishman, nevertheless, particularly if he knows any thing of Yorkshire, will hardly mistake their meaning when he hears of a 'bra bairn,' an 'ox stek,' a 'kalf stek,' when he is told 'sitta dere,' or 'ga til kirchen;' a 'skort simmer,' a 'cald winter,' 'snee,' 'swerd,' and ten thousand other words are equally similar.



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“ I enclose the literal translation of a fragment of a popular Danish song which I happened to see :

King Christian stood beside the mast,
In smoky night ;
His falchion fell like hammer fast,
And brains and helms asunder brast ;
Then sunk each hostile hull and mast
In smoky night ;
Fly, fly ! they shrieked—what mortal man
Can strive with Denmark's Christian
In fight ?

Niels Juel raised a warrior cry,
“ Now, now's the day !”
He hoisted up the red flag high,
And dashed amidst the enemy
With blow on blow, and cry on cry,
“ Now, now's the day !”
And still they shrieked—“ fly, Sweden, fly !
When Juel comes, what strength shall try
The fray ?”

* * * * *

“ Though the Norwegians rather pride themselves on their affinity to England, I do not think our nation is popular. Mr. Pitt is most cordially hated both in Norway and Sweden. We ourselves, however, experienced the greatest hospitality from every quarter ; to Mr. Rosencrantz of Hafstun, near Friderickshall, General Von Kraagh, and the society of Trondheim in general, we have very particular obligations.

* * * * *

“ The road through Sweden, from Koningsberg to Upsala, lay through a flat well-cultivated country, which had nothing to distinguish it from Leicestershire, or any other country of the same sort, except the rockiness of the soil. Our route from Gottenburg to Norway had given us a very false idea of the general appearance of the country. Sweden may be compared, in general,

to a marble table covered with baize ; it is level indeed and green, but the veil is thin, and every here and there the stone peeps through the cracks of its covering. Farming is well understood, and the soil, though very light, is not unproductive. In this, as in every thing else, we have detected the perfect falsehood of Wraxall's statements, and, I think, the general fidelity of Coxe. Carlstad, and most of the other towns on our route, contain nothing worthy of notice. At Westeraes is a small Cathedral, with many tombs of kings and great men. At Upsala we passed two days, and saw every thing of note in this northern Athens. There is a very respectable library, and a noble building as a green-house and museum, built by Gustavus the Third, of which the principal portico is Doric, very remarkable for its proportion and beauty.

The botanical garden is like that of Trinity, only much larger ; of the plants you know I am perfectly incompetent to judge. The Cathedral is well-proportioned, and has been of the best style of Gothic in general ; plain, and not very unlike Westminster Abbey. The inhabitants are very proud of it, and have taken care to remove all the carved-work or tracery from the windows, to daub the inside with plaister, and to case the outside with the very reddest brick they could find. This, with large white Doric cornices, and two bright blue things, like pepper-boxes, on the two towers, has so beautified it, that, if the bishop who founded it, and the mason who built it, were to return again, they would not know their own child in its present dashing uniform. There are separate houses for the different professors and lecturers, who are numerous, but with small salaries ; those who are in orders have also prebends. We were there in vacation time and saw nothing going on, but had a good opportunity of hearing all the details, as we had a letter to the lecturer in botany, Dr. Afzelius, who was very attentive and communicative. The number of students is about one thousand ; they wear their academical habits, which are black with scarlet facings, only on taking their degrees, holding acts, or the like. Anciently, the different nations as they are called, which



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compose the Swedish monarchy, the Ostrogoths, Westrogoths, Swedes, Finns, and Vandals, as they call the German provinces, had all different uniforms, which were discontinued on account of the animosities to which they gave rise. They are still called colleges—have each of them separate heads and endowments, but have no separate buildings, and lodge and eat promiscuously in the town; there are also riding, fencing, and dancing schools, and French and German are taught. They have no fixed time for taking their bachelor's degree, and consequently have no privileges; their master's degree they take at the end of seven years.

“Dr. Afzelius has been much in England, and in Oxford, of which place he complained as being less civilized than Cambridge. I wanted him to state his grounds of dislike, but could not succeed in keeping him to the point.

“From Upsala we went to Osterby, the seat of Mr. Tame, one of the proprietors of the Dannemora mine, a *ci-devant* nobleman, who resigned his title during the disputes of the last Diet. We found a very hospitable reception, and met with a large and pleasant party. The mines we saw, of course, and I can hardly express the sensations of astonishment they caused. All other mines I have seen are dark and dirty cellars in comparison; here it is Vathek's chasm and portal of ebony realized. You find, not a dark and narrow shaft like a well, but a mouth of an irregular form, more, I think, than two hundred yards long, and, in one place, at least eighty wide. On different parts of this enormous gulph are the cranes and buckets by which you are let down to the bottom, four hundred and eighty feet; the side is, for about two hundred feet, a smooth iron rock; at length there are other masses which arise like islands, and you see opening on every side the prodigious caverns whence the ore is taken; one of them into which we descended is a vault higher for some little way than the nave of York minster. Notwithstanding the width of the chasm above, the rays of the sun fall too obliquely to reach the bottom, which is the region of eternal ice and twilight. We did not descend quite to the lowest part, as the waters of the adjoining

lake had lately broken in ; to remove them they have established a small steam engine, the erection of which is under the superintendence of a Yorkshireman of the name of Owen. We afterwards learnt that there was a small boat below, and regretted much that we had not sailed on this ' Stygian ferry.' But what grieved us most was, that we had no opportunity of descending by moon-light, which, though I never heard of its being done, must be inconceivably noble ; the brightness of the projecting rocks, and the sea of darkness below, must be still more thrilling than the descent by day. By Wraxall's account, as well as those of some other tourists, who have great pleasure in describing their own cowardice, the descent is dressed out with very exaggerated terrors ; in fact the ropes and chains are perfectly secure. Accidents scarcely happen once in a hundred years. To see others descend, and to mark the gradual diminution of the bucket with its cargo, and the rope, which is at top a cable, seeming like a packthread at bottom, is a much severer trial of the strength of one's head, and what mine, indeed, could not have endured long.

" The road to Stockholm, which we have lately traversed, is through the same rocky green cultivated country as the rest of Sweden, excepting that towards the capital, the appearance becomes more woody, uneven, and even romantic. Nothing, indeed, can be more so than the situation of this extraordinary town, which is a collection of rocks scattered irregularly in a wide arm of the sea, (or lake, call it which you will) connected by bridges, covered with buildings and gardens, the domes of Churches intermingled with oaks, and the whole surrounded by an enormous palace, as big, I think, as five Somerset Houses. It is, however, chiefly of brick, but universally stuccoed or white-washed. The houses are all large and many-storied, with a common staircase, and a family on each floor ; the inns are as dirty and as dear, and the landlords as impudent as in any part of the world ; the streets winding and narrow, and not quite free from the effects of a crowded population and *patulæ pelves*. The quays, however, are some of them very noble, and the public buildings, though mostly small, in good



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taste. We are unlucky in finding the town almost empty ; the court is in Scania. Pierrepont is there too, and Bathurst not yet arrived ; these circumstances will probably shorten our stay, especially as we do not hear a very favourable account of the society and amusements, which are still more abridged by the recent death of the king's second child, the young grand duke of Finland.

“ . . . Since I wrote the above, I have seen a little more of Stockholm, having been introduced to what is called *La Société*, which is an establishment kept by a Frenchman, consisting of an eating-house, gaming-house, coffee-house, ball-room, &c., supported and frequented by the foreign ministers and most of the nobility. An introduction by a member is necessary, and your name is inserted in a book ; after which you have free admission, and find a very good and reasonable ordinary, with the best society in Stockholm. No man need game unless he wishes it. The foreign ministers, to most of whom we have been introduced, are some of them very sensible men ; I ought rather to call them *chargés des affaires*, for, except the Austrian, there are no regular ambassadors now in the town. The places of public amusement are all shut up, and our principal employment is in surveying the different buildings. We have seen Dronning Holm, the Versailles of Sweden, and, I should think, not unlike that palace in miniature ; as well as Haga, the favourite retirement of the late and present king, in a most delightful situation on the banks of the lake ; the gardens are prettily laid out, and the house might serve as a model for a parsonage.

“ We are just returned from the arsenal, as it is called, which is a long room filled with, on one side, vile wax-work figures of their kings, like our tower, with their armour and trophies piled around them ; and, on the other side are hung the effeminate silken trappings and lacquered tin breast-plates of the present race of Swedish nobility. These last have been used at the ridiculous mock tournaments celebrated by the late king. There are prodigious piles of standards and other spoils, the fruits of the ancient

victories of the Swedes, chiefly taken from the Poles, Saxons, Austrians and Russians. Our attention was, of course, attracted by the buff coat and breast-plate of Gustavus Adolphus, and the famous uniform of Charles the XIIth. We were surprised to find that this great hero had been so small and slight made a man; his gloves and boots prove it strongly; and neither Thornton nor myself could, with all possible straining, have made the coat button over the breast; with me it absolutely would scarcely come on at all; and the sleeves were also much too short. The sword, however, which is a rapier almost five feet long, has something heroic about it; and there was a standard just by which Charles had taken with his own hands from a Saxon officer.

“The most interesting things we have yet seen are the statues, which are the work of Sergel, a native artist who was sent to Italy by Gustavus the Third. They are far superior to any which I have seen by our Flaxman, and this is certainly very high praise.

“Direct your letters to Petersburg, where we hope to be in another fortnight. It will be impossible to return this winter; but you may assure my mother that I have no thoughts of Constantinople, and even Moscow will depend on circumstances. In all probability, however, we shall go in sledges from Petersburg thither, and so on to Berlin, where we expect to arrive by the latter end of the winter. I hope to be back in good time for the next spring meeting of the Shropshire volunteers.

“Pray make my best thanks to Mr. Bootle for his very valuable journal, which we have found an excellent guide every where. In Norway several persons enquired after him. At one place (Krogen) the peasants asked if we knew him, and said he was ‘*en ganska bra mand.*’”

To Mrs. Heber.

Abo, October 1, 1805.

“My dear friends at Hodnet will be glad to hear of our safe arrival again on the terra firma of Finland. We left Stockholm

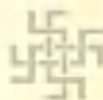


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on Friday last, in a fishing boat, which we were advised to hire for the whole way in preference to the numerous ferries which occur in the post roads over the isles of Åland, all of which are attended with delay, and some with danger. The boats between Stockholm and Åbo cut straight across the Gulf of Bothnia, and generally perform the voyage in two days; they are good sailers, and very convenient, having a cabin in the middle, like an English pleasure-boat, where there is room for two decent beds; our boat had even four. We had, at first, very little wind; and afterwards a violent gale full in our teeth, so that we are only just arrived. Our voyage, however, though not a quick one, was by no means unpleasant, the weather being fine. Our course lay through an innumerable multitude of rocks and islands, some barren, but many wooded to the very water's edge; the endless variety of their forms, and the winding channels which intersected them, were sometimes wonderfully beautiful, and seemed like the flowery isles of a dream, or an allegory. Indeed, like those, they were not without their dangers; and in the most tempting inlets we were sometimes shown the rippling of whirlpools and breakers. To us these were no subjects of alarm; our boatmen had been all their lives accustomed to this track, and always at night took care to secure their little vessel in some creek, where they could cast anchor till morning. One of these places, a small barren island covered with brushwood, where we halted for the second night, was really picturesque from the groupe of vessels which took shelter at the same time with ourselves, the grotesque figures of the men and women on board, and the numerous fires they had made along the shore. You will be surprised to hear women reckoned as a part of the crew; but here nothing is more common. In Stockholm, indeed, the boats are all managed by women; and a man would no more dream of rowing than he would of knitting stockings, or suckling a child. We were very well furnished with provisions by Mons. Martin, the Frenchman who keeps the club I mentioned in my last letter. Two of our kind friends in Stockholm, Mr. Gyldenpalm, the Danish Secretary of Legation, and Mr.

Wannerquist, a rich merchant, remarkable for his hospitality to Englishmen, had stored us, the one with some bottles of *particular* madeira, the other with port and London porter: the madeira is as yet untouched, being kept as a reserve for the wretched country between this place and Petersburg. We had a companion in the person of a poor Finnish student, who was desirous of returning to Åbo, but could not pay his passage; on which Thornton very good-naturedly proposed taking him on board our boat. We picked up some information from him respecting Finland, but not so much as I had expected; our conversation was carried on in Latin, which he spoke readily enough, but after a most barbarous fashion. Once or twice in the course of our voyage we were able to land for a short time, and were much pleased with the appearance and manners of the peasants of Åland. Castleholm we were prevented from going to.

“ I have been so occupied with the details of our voyage, that I was nearly forgetting to say any thing about the society of Stockholm, which, indeed, though we met with much kindness, we saw at a very inauspicious time. By a chain of ridiculous and rather mortifying impediments and mistakes, we were prevented from meeting one of the ladies to whom Lady Corbet had given us letters of introduction. I was however charged (through the medium of the grand-master of the ceremonies) with a long message of esteem and affection to Lady Corbet; and the whole business was carried off with so much diplomatic gravity that I keep the notes as a pattern of state negociation. The lady indeed, the Countess Rossè, very kindly came to town on purpose to meet us, but by the stupidity of our *laquais-de-place* our cards were left at a wrong door. However I contrived to clear myself from all imputation of incivility; and the grand-master of the ceremonies and I concluded the negociation, by seizing the opportunity of assuring each other of our highest consideration. The Countess Selfocuspan was in Scania. We saw, nevertheless, some little of the female society of Stockholm, and were pleased with it. Sir Sydney Smith very obligingly enclosed me a letter to Baron Armfeldt, who is now in



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Stralsund, and whom we shall see in the spring. Our principal acquaintance in Stockholm, besides Mr. Gyldenpalm and Mr. Wannerquist, was Mr. Edelerantz, who is private secretary to the King, and at once a poet, a mechanist, an architect, and a connoisseur in music and painting; he is superintendant of the public works of the kingdom, a knight of half-a-dozen orders, a member of at least as many learned societies, and is a very pleasing well-informed man, with an excellent understanding and much general knowledge. These friends, with a few others, made our time pass with both pleasure and instruction; and we have certainly no reason to regret our stay in Stockholm.

Of Åbo I have yet seen little, and that little coincides with Wraxall's opinion, who calls it "the wretched capital of a barbarous province." I shall however be rather slow in speaking unfavourably of the most northern university in the world, an archiepiscopal and archiducal city, the queen of Finland, Bothnia, and Lapland; and shall rather content myself with the account given by our passenger, the student, that it has an archbishop, fifteen professors with moderate salaries, three hundred students, a ruined castle, a white-washed cathedral, and is *urbs antiquissima pulcherrimo gaudens situ*.

"If a foreigner of the name of Bagè should call at Hodnet, my brother will, perhaps, have the goodness to show him some little attention. He is a very respectable and ingenious man, ennobled by the present king for having carried to perfection the prodigious canal at Trolhätta. He is now engaged in a similar work in Norway, and intends visiting the Welch aqueduct, and the other English canals, being very desirous to improve himself. Assistance to his researches will be a kindness to his whole nation, and to science in general."



To Mrs. Heber.

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St. Petersburg, October 9, 1805.

"I am unwilling to lose a moment in informing you of our safe arrival at this place, which we reached last night, after a cold and tedious journey from Âbo. * * * * *

* * * * * I call our journey tedious because uninteresting ; but, in point of speed, we have been very tolerably alert, and even travelled two whole nights, which is indeed the constant practice of travellers through Finland. Those who go this route in close carriages scarcely ever stop at all ; but as Thornton's was only the poney-phaeton which he bought at Gottenburg, the nights are already become too cold to allow of our making this a constant practice. This poor little carriage has just seen us safe through the journey, and seems now very near the end of all its toils and labours, being most completely worn out, the springs broken and supplied with ropes, the harness patched with the same materials, and the coach-box having lost its foot-board. Our friends here seem quite surprised at so diminutive a vehicle having got through a tour of two thousand miles ; but I am fully convinced that a heavier carriage could never have served our purpose so well. At Trondheim, indeed, the surprise lay the other way ; every body saying it was the largest and most 'superb coach' that had ever passed the Dovre Fells. Our passage through Finland was, however, by no means without amusement, and the many little difficulties we had to get over rather served to give variety to a tract where there is nothing very interesting to a tourist. We saw all that was worth looking at in Âbo ; it has a large old brick Church, with some ancient monuments ; one to the memory of Catherine, the country girl, whom the unfortunate Eric the XIVth married ; it is enclosed within a chapel, or shrine, belonging to the family of Tott, which likewise contains a marble monument to the memory of Achatius Tott, a grandson of Catherine and Eric. There was also another monument worthy of remark, with a long inscription to the memory of a Sir John Cockburne, a Scotch general in the service of



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Gustavus Adolphus. A public library, containing about 10,000 volumes, is at one end of the Church ; it belongs to the university, which is unfinished, and principally remarkable for some beautiful pillars of porphyry which are to compose the portico. They have also a small botanic garden.

“ Helsingfors and Wyborg are wretched places. Swedish Finland is fertile and populous, but the whole country, from the frontier hither, is the most desolate that can be imagined. We had expected some difficulty with regard to the language, particularly as we had not been able to procure an interpreter to go with us. Swedish is, however, understood at all the inns as far as Friderickshamm, and our servant was able to speak Russian fluently ; so that we were glad to have escaped the trouble of carrying a *laquais-de-place* from Stockholm to Petersburg. The Finnish language is a dialect of the Laplandish. As far as the boundary, and even for some short distance on this side the river Kymen, the appearance of the people continued Swedish, and nothing showed us that we were in Russia, except the chequered posts to mark the *versts*, and the dingy green uniform and dark complexion of the soldiers at the barrier, which were strongly contrasted with the blue coats and tall ruddy sentinels on the Swedish side. At Friderickshamm the difference in dress began to appear ; a loose gown, girt with a broad woollen or cotton sash, a plush bonnet trimmed with fur, and, in one or two instances, a species of linen turban, supplied the place of coats and hats, which were only worn by the soldiers and postmasters. This oriental dress, with the bare necks and long beards which accompanied it, is very singular and interesting to an Englishman, who can scarcely fancy himself in a European state. The higher ranks, indeed, dress as we do, but their numbers are, comparatively, very small. In one point both the Finlanders and Russians are unfortunately agreed ; I mean in the proverbial knavery of the lower classes. In Sweden every thing was secure from theft ; and our carriage, with its harness, cushions, &c. stood every night untouched in the open street. But we soon found how very inferior the Sclavonian race is to the Gothic in honesty, and were obliged to

keep a constant watch. I cannot account for this apparently generic difference. If the Russians only had been thieves, I should have called it the effects of the slavery of the peasants; but Swedish Finland is just as bad, and the peasants are as free as in England.

“ The approach to Petersburg over a bridge of boats across the Neva, a river as wide, and wider, than the Thames, is exceedingly noble; all the public buildings are assembled on its banks, and you might think yourself in a city of palaces. I have as yet seen nothing of the town, but the streets which we drove through yesterday strongly reminded me of London; and the English furniture of Mr. Bayley’s house serves to complete the deception. Mr. Bayley had very kindly prepared a set of rooms for us in his house, in which we had the enjoyment of English beds last night. The frost is just beginning, so that we have got to these comfortable quarters in time.

“ Believe me, my dear Mother,
“ Your affectionate Son.”

During the rest of the journey Mr. Reginald Heber did not keep a regular diary, but made memoranda of the countries through which he passed, under their respective heads.

RUSSIAN FINLAND.

“ On our route from Louisa, the last frontier town in Sweden, to Petersburg, nothing is more remarkable than the change which takes place in the appearance, dress, and apparent circumstances of the peasantry. In Swedish Finland the peasant has all the cleanliness, industry, and decency of a Swede; he is even more sober, but very inferior in honesty. In Russia you see an immediate deterioration in morals, cleanliness, wealth, and every thing but intelligence and cunning. The horses, which through the Swedish territories were uniformly good, became poor miserable hacks; and to the good roads, which we had enjoyed ever since we left



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Gottenburg, we now bade a long, very long adieu. The highways here, as throughout Russia, are of logs laid across the road ; in the greater part of the empire this is absolutely necessary, as there are no materials for road-making but sand. In Finland, however, granite abounds every where ; it lies in large masses, some of which gave me a perfect idea of the original state of the base of Peter the Great's statue, before Falconet had clipped it. The peasants we met with in these vile roads all turned out of the way for us in a great hurry ; one man even overturned his cart and himself to make room for us ; yet, it must be observed, we saw few people asking charity ; and in the great towns of Friderickshamm and Wyborg the accommodation at the inns was good, and there were several appearances of wealth among the higher and middling classes. Much of the poverty of the Finlanders may be, no doubt, attributed to natural causes, as the sterility and depopulation of the country are excessive. We took particular notice, that between Friderickshamm and Wyborg we only saw one Church, which was apparently Lutheran ; the majority of the Finns are still of that persuasion, though the Greek religion is said to be gaining ground ; and we observed several new Churches, with their distinctive mark, the dome and pepper-box steeple. This, however, is not a positive proof of its increase, as a congregation is by no means necessary to a Greek Church : every wealthy family seems to make a point of erecting one, and though the materials are often very slight, being brick or wood, plaistered and whitewashed, yet much taste is frequently displayed in their architecture. With regard to the Lutheran clergy, they are said to enjoy great authority over the minds of the people. Mr. Anderson, at Petersburg, told me, that much of this popularity was derived from a style of preaching which would, in any other part of Europe, be called enthusiastic and ranting in the extreme. A Finnish preacher may, in summer, when the windows of his Church are open, be heard almost a verst off. This species of oratory is, however, well adapted to the people they address, who are by far the most miserable and least civilized of any part of Russia.



“ Wyborg and Friderickshamm, are the only towns in the two provinces that bear the same names; the latter is very small. Wraxall celebrates the beauty of its plan, which is that of a star; its centre is an ugly town-house painted green and red; and, as well as the Churches and the houses, built of wood. It is regularly fortified and is a sea-port, but with very little trade. Wyborg is larger and better built; but its fortifications are neglected and its commerce is also very trifling. It contains one Greek Church painted green, several Lutheran Churches, and some other ancient buildings of the time of the Swedes. The natural situation of the town is apparently strong; the approaches to it wind very much, and are carried a great way on bridges and causeways. It is customary at both these places for travellers to present themselves personally to the governor of the fort, before their passports can be signed, which caused us a good deal of embarrassment. * * *

* * * * * The country abounds in lakes, hills, and scrubby fir and birch timber, and is little more than rock, covered with a stratum of lichen.

“ During the time of our journey, all the northern garrisons were greatly thinned on account of the war. We passed several regiments on their march, and were much pleased with the cleanliness, good clothing, and soldier-like appearance of the men, in which they far exceeded the Swedes.

“ The Finnish peasants are at present very much assimilated to their Russian fellow-subjects, and are only to be distinguished by their language and their greater poverty and filth. We were told at Petersburg that they were distinguished by their light hair; but on advancing further into Russia we found that, though dark hair is more common among the Russians than among their neighbours, it can scarcely be assigned as a national characteristic. The Finnish language, although Voltaire (who knew nothing about the matter) denies it, is merely a dialect of the Lapp; this information we had from Mr. Wannerquist; * * *

* * * Indeed, in Norway and generally throughout the north, Finn and Lapon are synonymous. *Lap* merely means



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wanderer, and the Finnish countenance is precisely the same with that of the Lap, only improved by a rather superior manner of living. The Samoyedes are, by all accounts, precisely the same race, and all are but the miserable remnants of the wealthy and commercial possessors of Perm and the ancient territory of Novogorod, who were expelled or subdued by the Slavi. Of their trade with India and Norway by the Volga and Petchora, and of their temple of Youmala, or the golden woman (Venus) who is still worshipped in China, we have accounts in many modern authors. I think Herodotus also mentions them; he certainly speaks of the tribe of Slavi, who afterwards subdued Novogorod. There is nothing in the distance which can render his having heard of them improbable. In a level country, with not much timber, and where for many months the rivers are all bridged over with ice, a few thousand versts are nothing to a Scythian. Witness the rapid and extraordinary emigration of the Mantchous from Russia to China, of the Mongouls *vice versa*, and the Calmuks of late years.

“ The state of agriculture in Finland is, as may be imagined, miserably imperfect, yet their turnips and butter are famous all over Russia. The Russian butter is not fit to be laid on bread, or employed in any of the more delicate preparations of breakfast, but it is used in the kitchen. At Yaroslav, when we asked for butter, we were told that very little Finnish butter was made in the province, by which it would appear that it has become the name of the species. Vast multitudes of Finnish boors come during all the winter to Petersburg on small wooden sledges, very long and narrow, drawn by one horse; they sell butter, milk, vegetables, and game. It is very awkward to cross a string of these carts, as they all go at a round trot, and the horses are so habituated to follow the leader, that nothing can pierce the column, and you must wait till the whole cavalcade has passed.

“ Finland, like Sweden, to the worst parts of which it bears a strong resemblance, is full of lakes, and the Russians think it a very picturesque country; there are many villas in it, and frequent

parties of pleasure are made during the summer from Petersburg. One favourite point for this amusement is a village, where in a morass are still seen the ruins of the famous bridge of pontoons, built by the Swedes, under De la Gardie. In this village Mr. Anderson found established in a small cottage, and wearing the dress of a peasant, an old lady, the widow of a marechal of France, who, on some quarrel with her friends, had retired here; she still had much dignity in her manner, and was once implored by the old women of the village, to intercede for the removal of a body of soldiers, who were sent to be quartered in their cottages; she acquitted herself of her commission with so much firmness and spirit, that she fairly talked the troops out of the place.

“ The Finns are not a very military race, but a considerable part of the Russian sailors are furnished from the banks of the Ladoga lake. The territory as far as Wyborg was conquered from the Swedes by Peter the Great, and Friderickshamm was added by Elizabeth, when the Russians penetrated as far as Åbo, which they were enabled to do chiefly by the divisions and venality of the Swedish senate. The Swedish troops behaved very ill in that war. The Finland regiments were considered as disaffected to the senate, and were kept in the back ground¹. We found a good many chasseurs quartered in Finland; and in Wyborg, for the first time, we saw some Cossaks; their dress is a common blue kaftan with a red sash, large blue trowsers drawn over the half-boots, and a high cap of black sheep-skin; their lance is apparently very cumbersome and inefficient; they have one large pistol which hangs on their right side; their sabre is less, and less crooked than ours. Prince Wiasemsky, at Kostroma, told me, that till the reign of Paul they had still the power of choosing and degrading, *all* their officers *ad libitum*; at present the colonels are appointed by the crown. I apprehend, indeed, that this controul over their other officers is not exercised when they are in service, but merely in their own hordes. The post-houses in Finland all belong to the crown, and

¹ See Memoires de Manstein.



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have their stables and other buildings arranged after a uniform plan. We got horses here with much more readiness and civility than we afterwards did in Russia. You have a *Podaroshna*, (order for post-horses,) made out at the frontier, for which you pay one copeck a horse per verst; you may pay either in ducats or Swedish money. Mr. Carr says that Swedish money is seized; on the contrary, it passes current at the post-houses, and every where else as far as Friderickshamm, and even farther. *Russian* money is seized on the frontier without pity. A man leaving Russia with the intention of returning, may, on giving up his Russ money, demand a receipt, and, on his way back, may claim it again. The fare for horses, besides the *Podaroshna*, is two copecks per horse a verst¹. The driver should have fifteen or twenty copecks, or even less will satisfy him in Finland. The ordinary rate of travelling is ten versts an hour; or on good roads more. In winter we were told by every one, that travelling was more rapid; but to speak from our own experience, we found it pretty much what I have stated.

“The Finnish peasants are generally of a shorter stature than their neighbours; their women are sometimes very handsome; and I was told that the women of the town in Petersburg are said to be chiefly of this nation; the nurses of the foundling hospital are also mostly Finns. The children of this establishment were formerly suckled by goats, but the custom, has, of late years, been altered.

“With regard to the domestic habits, religious prejudices, &c. of the Finns, we know but little. Mr. Anderson, from whom I have learnt that little, says that they have still retained a multitude of superstitious ceremonies, which, however, appear to be pretty much the same with the offerings to brownies and fairies in Scotland, and the Juttul, Nöech, and Neissen of Norway. The festivities of the May-pole are still kept up in Finland. The Finns are the only people in European Russia who retain the use of snow-shoes. The *Snä-plugh* of Denmark and Sweden is unknown in all this empire, where indeed the great intercourse on the high-

¹ One verst is two-thirds of an English mile; one hundred copecks go to a ruble, about two shillings and eight pence, English. (Now ten pence, ED.)



roads makes this invention unnecessary. Oat-bread disappears soon after passing the frontier, and rye and excellent wheaten-bread supply its place; the meat also becomes better. These luxuries, however, have all their origin in ancient Russia. Finland produces little.

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“ Though the Finns are not distinguished for their military character, they are by no means a race of cowards. In their combats with the bear they display great courage; a man will frequently attack one hand to hand, with a short knife, for his only weapon, in his right hand, while his left arm is wrapped round with a sheep skin. Their usual weapons are, however, the gun or the spontoon. The bear is only found to the north of Novogorod, and is scarce even as far south as Petersburg. Of the lynx which is found in Norway, I have heard nothing here, nor have I seen the skin in any of the shops.

“ The Russians, as well as the Swedes, always pile their arms when on guard, before the door of the guard-room, a slovenly practice, which exposes them to be always wet. The Russ bayonet is very much shorter than the Swedish. The grenadiers, and some other regiments, wear short hangers of very bad temper. Their uniform is green with white pantaloons and half-boots, with a broad white belt round the waist, which is tied so ridiculously tight as very much to impede the free use of their limbs; on the whole, their dress is, like that of most other soldiers, more fit for a parade than for actual service. Many regiments still retain the large hat. A Russian battalion consists of four companies, and each company of 138 rank and file, four officers, ten non-commissioned officers and four drums; each company now consists of two platoons; but in Catherine's time they were divided into four platoons, and the officers carried fusils; at present they have spontoons; in her time their uniform consisted of loose trowsers, a loose and wide jacket and a casque. Their pay is ten rubles annually with an allowance of provision; for their clothing, they are allowed one uniform jacket, one pair of cloth pantaloons every two years, besides which they have a linen jacket, a pair of linen trowsers,



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and two pair of boots every year. A Russian is enlisted for twenty-five years, but at the end of twenty, if he has behaved well, he receives a medal which exempts him from corporal punishment, and gives him, in fact, the privileges of an officer. After the whole period of service is concluded he is discharged, and allowed to practise what trade he pleases in any part of the empire ; but, should he desire it, and is still fit for garrison duty, he is placed in the invalid battalions.

To Mrs. Heber.

St. Petersburg, October 27th, 1805.

“ DEAR MOTHER,

“ By the arrival of Hanbury and Stackhouse, two Englishmen whom we left at Stockholm, I had the pleasure of receiving your second letter, which had not reached that place during our stay there. Believe me it was a very great pleasure to hear of the good health of my *English* circle of friends (for Hodnet seems very seldom to contain you all at once,) especially as I had been disappointed of finding any letters at Petersburg. Our time is passed pleasantly and, I hope, profitably, in learning German, improving in French, seeing sights, and listening to, not joining in, political discussions. These employments, with a few Greek books which I hope to borrow, will give us ample amusement for the time we intend to stay here.

“ I was a little premature when I mentioned in my last that the winter was begun ; the severe frost we then experienced was what the Russians call the ‘ little winter,’ and it is considered as a usual appendage of autumn. We had, indeed, afterwards some very delightful open weather, and our excursions to the palaces and prospects in the neighbourhood, which we secured in time to catch the woods before they were entirely naked, were in as favourable weather as the usual run of English Octobers. The frost, however, is now again severe, and there is every prospect of a universally sharp and early winter. The merchants here are al-

ready seriously alarmed for the vessels in Cronstadt harbour, most of which are only half freighted. The winter seldom really sets in till the middle of November ; so that this premature cold threatens to send the vessels away empty, or to lay the hindmost by the heels till spring. We have as yet found it unnecessary to adopt warmer clothing ; but we have each of us got a famous stuffed coat, which I shall try this evening. The Russians, I mean the higher classes, are already in their furs ; but I have observed both here and in Sweden, where the cold is always comparatively moderate, that the gentlemen, from their indolent—I had almost said effeminate—lives, and from the great heat of their houses, are much more chilly than Englishmen. If a Swede rides out the hottest day in summer, the probability is that he wears a swansdown great coat, and a silk handkerchief about his mouth and ears ; nor shall I ever forget the looks of astonishment and alarm which an open window never failed to produce. An officer in the guards would as soon, or sooner, face a cannon than a draft of air. You see whatever else I may learn in my tour, I have, at least, an excellent example of prudence. However, though we dissented from these good folks during the summer, I faithfully promise that, during the winter, I will be entirely guided by the customs of my neighbours, and will not pretend to understand their climate better than they do themselves.

“ Our plans for future progress are, to stay here till Christmas, and then to proceed, on the winter roads, into Germany. In the mean time, we hope to acquire some knowledge of German, and to be able to settle our route, which must of course depend on politics, and the advance of the army. Letters of introduction to any part of Germany, particularly Vienna or Berlin, will be most thankfully received ; I say to any part, because it seems impossible at present to say what parts it may be in our power to visit. All here are in high spirits about the war, particularly since the accession of Prussia. The emperor, indeed, is so popular, that he could scarcely do any thing of which his people would not approve. It is far otherwise in the country we have lately quitted ; general ill-hu-



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mour and dissatisfaction at all public measures, mutual distrust between the king and his people, and a bitter sense of their present weakness, contrasted with their ancient military glory, are at present conspicuous in every society and conversation in Sweden. I was really perfectly astonished at the expressions I often heard respecting the king, the hints thrown out against the legitimacy of his birth, and the public insults which he has received from the university of Upsala. Yet, on examining into the causes of dissatisfaction, we could find none that were by any means adequate. All acknowledged that his private conduct was most unblameable; that his general frugality, his attention to business, and the discipline of his troops, were great and commendable. All the objections they could really bring, were the austerity of his manners, his long travels in Germany, &c., and the present war. The first of these is surely no very serious one; and for the last, every Englishman will respect rather than blame him; for the second, which is a real and serious fault, he may plead, I know not how many French moralists and philosophers. I believe, indeed, we must look to another quarter for the reasons of his unpopularity, and that much more is attributable to his father's conduct than his own. Gustavus the Third had altered the constitution of his country, on the whole advantageously; but he had in many respects carried the regal power farther than his people were inclined to bear. He therefore kept them in good humour by *fêtes*, and balls, and masquerades, all which were very pretty, but contributed largely to swell the debts of his country, which his taste for the fine arts, the most unfortunate turn that a king can take, enlarged to a great degree for so small a kingdom. At last he left an empty treasury, a discontented people, an infant son, and a regent who was believed to be in the interest of France. All these disadvantages the present young king has had to struggle with, and I certainly know nothing more interesting or more critical, than the present situation of 'that good and brave nation,' as Kosciusko called them.

"I have prosed to you so long about Sweden, that I must make haste and return to Petersburg. Our usual ill luck with

respect to kings and princes followed us here. The emperor was set off for Germany before our arrival. Lord Leveson Gower's departure which took place soon afterwards, was a still greater disappointment, as we had met with great kindness and civility from him; and if he had staid we should have been introduced to the best society in the best possible manner.

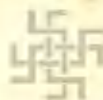
"Mr. Möeler, the Hanoverian envoy, to whom Sandford had procured me a letter, has however been a very valuable acquaintance; by his means we are likely to see a good deal of the best circles here. The town is, of course, by no means full, as many of the nobility are with the army, and many more have not yet left their country-houses. Among the English we have a very good society, and owe great thanks to Mrs. Cowper and Dr. Cayley for their introductions. I am obliged to end my letter abruptly, as the packet of letters is making up. It is reported here that Lord Leveson Gower is to be recalled; if so, perhaps my brother can get me a letter to his successor, which will be of great importance; pray remember that introductions to any part of Germany will be of consequence, as we are really without plans at present.

"Believe me, dear mother, your dutiful son,

"REGINALD HEBER."

"I could get no music either in Sweden or Norway; in Sweden they have none worth hearing; and in Norway, though they have many beautiful simple songs, they have none with the notes printed or written. I hope to get a good deal in Russia.

"We found Colonel Pollen in Petersburg; he is married to the daughter of a Mr. Gascoyne, who has acquired a vast fortune by bringing the Carron system of iron foundry into Russia. Pollen's house is one of the most splendid in Petersburg, and we have received great civility from him. I must defer my account of this place till my next letter."



*" To Mrs. Heber.**St. Petersburg, Nov. 20th, 1805.**" DEAR MOTHER,*

" More posts from England, but no letters for me. I conclude from this circumstance that you are all well; but it would really be a very great treat to receive some certain information. I am inclined to think that some of my letters have miscarried. I wrote from Carlstad, Stockholm, and from Åbo. You really have no idea how ravenous I am grown after a letter from England, and how disappointed I feel at hearing of another barren post.

" In my last letter I promised you an account of Petersburg; and I know nothing to which it can be better compared than some parts of the new streets in London, without their causeways and railed areas. There is every where displayed the same activity in beginning, the same slightness in the materials, and the same want of accurate finishing or perseverance. There is indeed nothing more striking than the apparent instability of the splendour of this great town; houses, Churches, and public buildings are all of plaistered brick; and a portico worthy of a Grecian temple is often disfigured by the falling of the stucco, and the bad rotten bricks peeping through. The external ornaments and structure even of their great Casan Church, which, when finished, will be a noble building, are of the like materials. But whatever may be their durability, their general appearance, with their gaudy ornaments, their gilt spires and domes, and the gold-leaf which is lavished on the capitals and bases of their pillars, produces altogether a very glorious and novel effect. The neighbourhood of Petersburg, particularly on the Livonian and Moscow sides, is not so barren as I was at first induced to think, from the desolation of the Finland road. Russia itself, for St. Petersburg is considered only as a conquest and colony, is, I am told, a much finer country than what we have yet seen; and the real Russ peasantry are in much

more easy circumstances than those of the conquered countries. The difference in appearance between the Russians and the Ingrians and Finns, is, indeed, sufficiently remarkable; the rags and filth of the latter are enough to point them out, even without the distinction of their yellow hair and beard. The real Russian is generally middle-sized, (I think the average height is lower than in England, and the standard of their military height is lower even in time of peace,) his beard is thin and lank, and, as well as his eyes and hair, generally very dark; in his air and figure there is great appearance of activity and liveliness; a Russian servant is often idle, careless, and roguish, but very seldom awkward or uncivil. These national features are the same all over the empire; and you may go, I understand, from Archangel to Astrachan without finding the least alteration in dress, language, manners or food. Their food, which consists principally of sour cabbages or cucumbers, and water-melons, is certainly very wholesome, and, with their weekly use of the warm-bath, preserves them from the scurvy, and the cutaneous diseases to which the Swedes and Norwegians are excessively subject. The baths are, however, by no means sufficient to keep them sweet; and to pass to leeward of a Russian peasant is really so terrible an event that I always avoid it if possible; and experience only can give any idea of the bad smells united beneath his 'kaftan' or long gown, particularly in winter, when it is composed of sheep-skins. The manners and the parties of the upper ranks are so exactly like those of London, that there is no perceivable difference. Cards, which we were told in Sweden were absolutely necessary, we even see less of than in London. Some of the houses are pleasant, but the circle is not very numerous, and now begins to grow tiresome. The return of the Emperor will perhaps bring back gaiety. We shall, however, at all events quit this place in about six or seven weeks. The Russians strongly recommend a scheme for our future tour, which Thornton has written to his friends to propose, and for which I have promised to ask your permission. It is to go from Moscow the direct road to Constantinople, instead of to Poland; and after



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beard, and square cap, like those worn by Bishops Parker and Grindall in their pictures. The postillion is a little boy in the same dress, girt tight round him with a broad red sash; he rides on what we should call in England the wrong horse, holds his whip in the left hand, and is obliged to cry out continually like the children who drive the crows from the corn-field. This he is obliged to do as there are no footways; and they drive so fast, that if the streets were not very wide and the population very thin, accidents must continually happen. Very neat carriages and sets of horses of this description, are always to be hired by the month, and we have got a remarkably good one. The carriages and furniture of all sorts in Russia are so minutely copied from the English, that it would require the eye of a connoisseur to distinguish them.

“There is no Italian opera here; the French theatre we have attended pretty constantly; there are also German and Russ theatres, but they are little frequented: the plays acted at the latter are, for the most part, on the model of Bluebeard and Pizarro, and merely attended for the sake of the scenery and dresses, which are at the expence of government, and the best managed I ever saw. The Greek theatre is very magnificent, a little larger than Covent Garden.

“In the German language we are making tolerable progress considering its difficulty; the grammar and the particles, separable and inseparable, are indeed more complicated than Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in one. The Russ we have not attempted, though we have been often amused with its strange and barbarous similarity to Greek. *Οξυς* and *Φοινο*, with a true *Æolic* pronunciation, are vinegar and wine; and after a range of visits, we order our carriage to drive *Δομως*. I have had plates handed to me by Nestors and Nicons; and one day heard a hackney-sledge driver call his friend Athanasius; but all these are exceeded by an introduction we are promised to the divine Plato himself, who is the Archbishop of Moscow, and one of the few learned divines of the Greek Church. The Greek clergy are generally in a very low

station, and miserably ignorant, though greatly beloved by the common people. Their appearance when performing service is sometimes very striking; their long beards, flowing hair, and robes exactly resembling those which we see in an illuminated Greek MS. amid the glare of tapers, the smoke of incense, and a crowd of worshippers kissing the steps of the Altar and the hem of their garments, form as good a picture as most I have seen. This is a subject I could enlarge upon, as I have enquired about it; but I have much to say, and fear to be too late for the ΠΩΣΤ, for so is the post spelt and pronounced by a Russian.

“ I am not sure whether in my last I said any thing about the palaces here and in the neighbourhood, of which the Taurida is the only one that has quite answered my expectation; the winter-garden there, which is a grove of evergreens in a vast saloon (something like an extension of the plan for a green-house, given by Mason, in his story of Alcander and Nerina) is perhaps a matchless piece of elegant luxury. The great palace is a vast tasteless pile of plastered brick; and the marble palace is tamely conceived, and its pilasters look like slices of potted beef or char. In the great palace are some good pictures; the Houghton collection is in the hermitage which is now under repair. What interested me most were the private rooms of the emperor and empress, which were remarkable for their comfort, neatness, and simplicity. Alexander's private study and dressing-room, which, though not generally shown, we were permitted to see, was apparently just as he had left it, and answered completely my ideas of what a monarch's retirement ought to be. The table was heaped with books which we were not allowed to meddle with or take up, but among which I thought I distinguished Guichard and Folard; and round the room, which is small, were piled a great number of swords, musquets, rifles, and bayonets of different kinds and inventions; in the window-seats were some books of finance. The whole was so carelessly and naturally arranged, that I am convinced it was not intended as a show. In fact, his aversion to display of all kinds is the most striking part of his character, and it



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is even carried to excess. As he is now in person with the army, and has, it is said, expressed a wish to *win his spurs*, before he assumes the military order of St. George, I fear we have little probability of seeing him before we leave Petersburg. The Russians and English attempt to outdo each other in his praises; and the women in particular speak of him as the best, the most polite, and the handsomest man in the world. But after all allowance is made for their partiality, he appears to be really of a very amiable temper and manners, and a clear unperverted head; he is said, above all, to be active and attentive to his peculiar duties; he is neither a fiddler, a poet, a chemist, or a philosopher, but contents himself with being an emperor. His person, to judge by his busts and statues, is tall and strongly built; his complexion fair and pale; his hair light, and his face full and round. I have been anxious to give you some general idea of this amiable man, in whose character and conduct Europe is so deeply interested. The minuter traits in his character, which may perhaps be necessary to the shading the picture, and which are collected from the different anecdotes one picks up, will serve for fire-side talk. There is, however, one very remarkable trait which tends to illustrate his character; popular as he is, one hears very few anecdotes of him.

“I expect impatiently my mother’s answer respecting Constantinople. I write but little on politics, partly because Petersburg, from its remoteness, is out of the current of news almost as much as England; and partly because I do not chuse to submit all my political observations to the chance of an inspection at the Post-office, which sometimes happens in England as well as on the continent. The war here is popular, and the people profess themselves, and I believe really are, friendly to the English cause and nation. If any thing could have diminished this feeling, it would have been, I think, the inactivity of the arms of Great Britain during the present coalition; to the want of a timely diversion in that quarter, there are many who are fond of attributing the dreadful calamities which have befallen Austria: and though the presence of Englishmen was always a restraint, I have repeatedly

been made half-mad by witnessing the deep and general indignation at the conduct of ministry ; a conduct which I have often endeavoured to defend, at least as far as the general character of the country was at stake. You will likewise soon see the curious effect which this produced on the terms of a late offered negotiation. Thank God, the victory of Trafalgar, followed up by the arrival of General Don, at Cuxhaven, has turned the scale in our favour, and the destruction of Boulogne, of which we are in daily hopes to hear, will give new spirits to the friends of England, and of what is emphatically called ' the good cause.' Pitt is, I believe, thought highly of here, though his late inactivity staggered their good opinion. The news from the Russian army continues comfortable to Europe and glorious to Russia. Bragratiou, of whose exploits you have heard, is a very remarkable character ; he is a Georgian by birth, and chief of one of the tribes of Mount Caucasus ; he was a favourite of Suwarof, and acquired great reputation in Italy."



CHAPTER IV.

PETERSBURG TO MOSCOW.

Captain Davison's farm—Entrance into Petersburg—Russian weights and measures—Bridges—The Artelshiki—Czarsko-Zelo—Winter palace—Hermitage—Isaac's palace—Senate—Iron works—Police—Washerwomen—Sledge driving—Emperor's return to Petersburg—Levy for the army—Emperor's court—Ramadan—Livonian peasants—Palace of Peterhof—Oranienbaum—Cronstadt—Novogorod—Valdai—Shoes made of linden bark—Abrock—Slaves—Tobolsk—Iver—Anecdote—Russian's treatment of his horses.

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THE next in order among Mr. Reginald Heber's notes are the following memoranda on

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“ In approaching nearer to the capital no superior advances in civilization are visible ; and all that gives you any idea that you are approaching it is the distant view of Cronstadt, and the palace of Oranienbaum, on the Livonian side of the gulph, which is here barely so wide as the Severn at its junction with the Avon below Bristol. There is also a high point of land not far from Oranienbaum, which arrests the attention, as being the only object which breaks the sea-like level you look down on from the last rocks of Finland. On descending these you have a magnificent view of the town, with its gilded domes and spires. Just without the barrier is a patch of land, cultivated in the English manner by a Captain Davison, an English officer who came into Russia as secretary to Mr. Novosillzof; it is the only cultivated ground

on this side of Petersburg, and was reclaimed, at the expence of government, from a most unpromising morass, where the emperor and his horse were nearly swallowed up two years ago. It is now become very tolerable ground, and being cropped and stocked in the English manner, already supplies the principal houses in Petersburg with butter, garden-stuff, and butchers'-meat, of a much better kind than they had before. Davison, who is a man of great resolution and industry, devotes himself entirely to it; he has acquired a perfect knowledge of the Russian language, and living himself on the farm, in the neighbourhood of a great capital, with a convenient water-carriage in summer, he will probably succeed in bringing it to perfection. Some slight inconveniences he complained of, such as being obliged to make his farm a show, which of course is a great interruption to his works. He hopes, by crossing the breeds of Russian cattle with those of other nations, to produce a breed more suited to the climate than any yet known. The Russ cattle and sheep are but of very imperfect qualities, except the Archangel cattle, which were originally brought there by a mere accident from Holstein. The Archangel veal is a very celebrated dainty at Petersburg. The soil of Davison's farm he described as suited to the Norfolk system of husbandry; its chief products at present are cabbages, turnips, and a root peculiar to Russia, larger than a turnip and of the same colour, but of a conical form; it is eaten raw like a radish, which it resembles in taste. For cattle it is a very good winter provision. Potatoes are as yet scarce in Russia, and the people have not got over their prejudices against them. Mr. Jackson, of Petersburg, told me that one of the *dvornichs* (house-slaves) asked him, with much anxiety, if the troops sent to Germany would be well fed. On his answering in the affirmative, 'but, sir,' said the Russian, 'are you sure they will not give them potatoes?' The only garden-stuff on which the Russians set much value are cabbages, cucumbers, water-melons, and onions; these, with hemp and linseed-oil, a few pickled sprats, rye-bread, qwass, in which they generally mingle salt, and buckwheat boiled with oil, form the diet of a

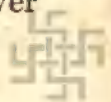


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peasant. It does not appear a very strengthening one ; yet they certainly thrive on it, and are preserved by this and their baths from the itch, scurvy, and other disorders to which the Swedes and Norwegians, though a much cleaner race, are dreadfully subject. I need only mention the *Plica Polonica* to show that their southern neighbours are still worse off.

“ Davison’s butter is stamped with the imperial eagle, and the farm is called the imperial farm ; the emperor when at Kameny Ostrof pays much attention to it, and takes great pleasure in riding about it and showing the improvements ¹ at Kameny. Ostrof is a small lodge on an island of the Nevka, adjoining the farm ; the emperor and empress pass there a great part of every summer ; it is a low, green and marshy situation embosomed in trees, on the right-hand entering into Petersburg.

“ We entered the city by a long suburb, then passed the Nevka by a bridge of boats to the island of the citadel, and thence by another of the same construction across the magnificent Neva. The view is here strikingly grand ; in front are the summer gardens with a very high iron gilt palisade, which has a fine effect among the lime trees, over which rises the gilt spire of Paul’s palace of St. Michael ; on the left-hand the length of the granite quay is lined with very magnificent private houses, and is bounded in the distance by the dome of the Taurida palace ; the right-hand view is filled with the marble palace, the house built by Paul for the princess Gargarin, the theatre, Hermitage, winter-palace, and the admiralty with its gilded spire. On turning round you see on the other side of the river the citadel with its granite bastions, and the cottage of Peter the Great close beneath them ; a little further the cadet corps, and lastly the new College of arts and sciences. On driving through the town as we did by the Isaac’s place, the statue of Peter the Great, &c., to the Quai de Galerenhof, our admiration was continually on the stretch ; and though it was no doubt increased by the comparison of what we saw now with what we had seen in Sweden and Norway, it is certain that, however



deficient in taste, convenience, or durability, each building taken separately may appear, as a whole the plan and *coup d'œil* of Petersburg may be considered as almost a standard of beauty. Its situation and distribution may be better traced by the plan than by any account. Its streets are generally very wide, and the houses low, nor always contiguous; the Nevská perspective is the principal, which is divided in the middle by a raised gravel-walk, railed in and planted with lime-trees. These rails, as well as all public buildings, bridges, sentry-boxes, and guard-houses, are chequered black and white; this was a whim of Paul's. The houses are mostly very large, built round courts, and generally divided into twenty or thirty different tenements. I remember Kerr Porter, hunting about a whole morning for a house of which he knew both the street and the number. The staircases are often common, and a family lives on every story; the basement story and cellars, even of the most magnificent houses, are always let for shops, brandy cellars, *cabacks*, and every thing that is filthy. The houses and Churches, with the exception of the marble palace, the marble Church, and the Cathedral of our Lady of Casan, are all of bad brick, white-washed and plastered into a very good resemblance of stone. In this imitation, as well as that of marble, they are very happy; the marble, in particular, it is impossible to distinguish from real; it costs one ruble the square arskine¹.

¹ The measures of Russia are as follow :

16 vershoks = 1 arskine.

3 arskines = 1 sageen = 7 English feet.

40 Russ pounds = 1 pood = 36lbs. English.

10 poods = 1 birkweight.

2 potushka = 1 denga.

2 denga (vulgo denushka) = 1 copek

100 copiki = 1 ruble = 2 shillings and 8 pence, English.

10 rubles = 1 imperial.

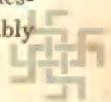
There is an agio in favour of silver, which makes a silver ruble worth about one quarter more. The lowest paper money is for five rubles. The quantity of paper in circulation is



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“ The situation of Petersburg is well known, as well as the obstacles in the way of its navigation, occasioned by the bar in the river on which there are only a few feet water. There are three large and several small bridges over the Neva, Nevka, and the different canals. The large ones are of boats; a stone bridge being impracticable on account of the depth and rapidity of the streams, and the quantity of ice which floats down in the spring. The plan of a wooden bridge of one arch to be thrown from the place where Peter’s statue is now situated, to the opposite shore, has been projected by a peasant, and its model is preserved in the Taurida garden. The difficulty attending its adoption appears to be a doubt whether the wood would be of sufficient solidity to bear its own weight. Iron would unquestionably answer, provided the banks on each side are firm enough. A foundation of ice might be possibly invented; it has been tried already in one instance and found to answer, as ice never thaws more than four feet under ground. The inconveniences of the present bridge are immense; for many days in the year intercourse of every kind is suspended, as the floating ice renders the passage of boats impossible. The Neva water is reckoned good and wholesome by the

difficult to be ascertained; by what we could collect from prince Andrew Wiasemsky and Mr. Chepotof at Moscow, it may be guessed at about two millions. By the law there is a premium on paper at the bank, in exchange for copper; but according to Mr. Hawes, a banker at Moscow, this is sometimes difficult to procure. The bank of Russia is in the practice of advancing money to individuals at five or six per cent, or more, according to the security given. In order to facilitate the sale of land, it is no uncommon practice for a person to mortgage his estate to the bank, in order to sell it, thus encumbered, with greater ease than otherwise. This is in fact only to say, in other words, that in the sale of articles, the bank frequently advances a part of the money on the security of the land. There is said to be a very considerable treasure in gold, silver, and copper in ingots, which the late empress showed ostentatiously to the poor king of Sweden. Paul, however, diminished it a little; the present monarch is said to lay up a great deal. Almost every department of government, and every public institution, has an increasing income greater than the expenditure. Part of this surplus money is laid out in the purchase of land and peasants. The crown lands are at present immense; they have been more augmented by the present emperor than by any of his predecessors; the policy of this conduct we have heard variously stated. Prince Dashkof questioned it strongly, on the ground that crown lands were always the worst managed; probably one grand motive is the gradual emancipation of the boors.



inhabitants; but on strangers it has the same effect that almost every other river water produces at first.

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“The wharfs, warehouses, and other scenes of business, are in a separate quarter of the town, where the exchange is also situated; they are all built, on the eastern system, round a court, and vaulted. It is here that hemp, tallow, and various other commodities are laid up; the hemp is previously sorted by sworn workmen, who have, by long practice, acquired a wonderful facility in distinguishing its quality. It is divided into clean, half clean, outshot, and codilla, which have each their different value. Clean hemp costs forty rubles the birkweight; half clean about thirty-eight. Besides these sworn workmen there is another class of men of great use to the mercantile part of the town, the *artelshiki*. These are chiefly natives of Archangel and its neighbourhood, and are very frequently freemen; they are formed into a species of clubs called *artel*, each of which has a common fund, in which every person makes a considerable deposit of caution money. The society is then answerable for the good behaviour of its members; these last are deterred from dishonesty and drunkenness, not only by the certainty of fine and expulsion, but by an *esprit de corps*, which they feel very strongly. Mr. Jackson told me that one of his *artelshiki*, who had been drunk, came to him, prostrated himself at his feet, (a common practice among the lower class of Russians) and offered to pay any money he might choose provided he would not disgrace him by complaining to his *artel*. These men are used as porters to the warehouses, and as a kind of trust-worthy servant employed in the counting-houses, and in carrying messages, drafts, bills, &c. Every considerable merchant has some in his family; and these, with a *dvornie*, or house-porter, two or three livery-servants, and perhaps three maid-servants, constitute the general establishment of single men. Married merchants have a much larger household, and the Russian gentlemen have seldom fewer than fifty, and sometimes as many as 500 dependants.

“The principal articles of commerce in Petersburg are brought by barks from the interior by the native merchants; they are then



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shipped on board lighters, and sent down the Gulph to Cronstadt, where they are again embarked on vessels of burthen. Many of the smaller commodities are exported exclusively by foreign nations, but none of any great consequence. The tribunal to which merchants have recourse is the Chamber of Commerce, from whence an appeal lies to the Senate.

" We were fortunate enough to arrive at Petersburg a short time before the setting in of the winter; and this short time we employed in seeing the palaces and prospects in the city and neighbourhood. Of the palaces, Czarsco-Zelo, (royal village,) Pavlovsk, Gatchina, (a seat purchased by Paul, when grand duke, from Prince Potemkin,) very little need be said; they are all brick buildings, slightly run up and plaistered, but very well situated. At Gatchina is the most beautiful pool of clear water I ever saw, which is, however, disgraced and put out of countenance by a marshy artificial lake, separated from it by a regular stone dam. Czarsco-Zelo, remarkable chiefly for its great size, and its profusion of ornament and gilding, was the favourite residence of Catherine the Second. She added greatly to it; in particular a long gallery, with glass walls like a green-house, in which she used to walk in winter, and where is to be seen the bust of Fox between Demosthenes and Cicero; this is, however, only a copy; the original, by Nollekens, is at the Taurida. Fox fell into disgrace with the empress during the French revolution, and the busts were removed, but reinstated by Paul. The situation of Czarsco-Zelo is the most dirty and boggy conceivable; its gardens are laid out in the English manner; and the gardener here, as almost every where throughout Russia, is of English extraction. One of the things which strikes a foreigner most in the Russian palaces is the immense size of the glass panes, which often fill up a whole window, being sometimes twelve or thirteen feet high, by five or six wide. The floors are invariably of wood, inlaid in small pieces of different grain and colour, well waxed and polished (similar to what one sees in some old houses in England, in Shavington¹ for example.) Half way between

¹ The seat of the Earl of Killmorey, in Shropshire.—ED.

Czarsco-Zelo and Petersburg is a building, professing itself to be Gothic, of red brick, where Potemkin lived, and from the towers of which he used to address the Empress, as she passed, in the language of knight-errantry. The famous palace of the Taurida, which this favourite presented to his mistress, is remarkable for nothing but its magnificent saloon, which, with its conservatory, is the most striking thing of the kind, perhaps, in the world. The gardens are pretty, but confined, and the whole building externally is neither large nor very handsome; the gardener was an old servant of Mr. W. Bootle's, of Latham. The marble palace, which Catherine gave Potemkin in return, is only remarkable for its rich coating; it is something like Queen's College, but on a much smaller scale. The last person who occupied it was the unfortunate King of Poland, whose library, said to be a valuable one, is in a building in the Nevskia perspective; it is distinct from the cabinet, which is well known for its valuable collection of books and curiosities, but stands in the same street. The winter-palace is an immense building, profusely ornamented, and in a very advantageous situation, containing some good pictures and some enormous looking-glasses. The private apartments of the emperor and empress are remarkable for their simplicity and good taste. There is another set of apartments very interesting, as having been occupied by Paul, and being now preserved by his widow, the dowager empress, in exactly the state they were left at his death. Not a book or article of furniture has been removed from its exact place; one book in particular remains turned down open on its face, to mark where he had left off reading. The table is covered with models for cocked hats and uniforms, and the walls with coloured half sheets, representing the uniforms of the different Russ regiments; his clothes and linen are lying carelessly about the room, and are preserved with the same religious care. In an adjoining library were deposited regularly the standards of the different regiments in garrison in Petersburg, and these have also been allowed to remain.

“What appears to be a part of the bookcase slides back,



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and you ascend by a dark and narrow stair-case into an unsuspected suite of rooms above, small, low, and not to be discovered even on the outside of the building by those not thoroughly acquainted with it. They consist of a bed-room, study and oratory, all filled with a collection of miniature pictures, and richly furnished: but the appearance of the whole is gloomy and desolate, and gives the idea of the tyrant's den in Dryden's *Sigismonda* and *Guiscardo*. These rooms are very seldom shown, and we were obliged to Mr. Pitt, the English clergyman in Petersburg, for contriving to procure us a sight of them. Though the advantage of the hiding-place endeared these particular rooms to Paul, he passed but little time in the winter palace, which he disliked as having been the residence of his mother. His own favourite house was the Michaelofsky castle, a vast brick building surrounded by the Fontanha canal, and defended with granite bastions, cannon and drawbridges. We saw its interior on the occasion of a Tartar religious ceremony which was performed in the great hall. The furniture was once magnificent, but is now all removed, and the very walls are dismantled of their ornaments; the chambers occupied by the emperor, and where he was murdered, are expressly forbidden to be shown; we tried some pretty high bribery, but it would not do.

"The Tartar festival we saw was the commencement of the Ramadan month. The number of Mahomedans in Petersburg is about six or seven hundred; they are chiefly soldiers, sailors, or hackney-coach and sledge drivers.

"Adjoining to the winter palace and connected with it by an arch-way with a covered gallery, under which flows the Moxha canal, is the Hermitage, and further on the private theatre. The whole extent of these three buildings fronting the river is, I think, about one-third of a mile. On entering the Hermitage from the winter palace, one is surprised at finding a small garden three stories high from the ground; it is formed on a leaden roof, like the hanging gardens of Babylon. The Hermitage is a most magnificent palace internally; and above all, is remarkable for the

collection of paintings purchased by the late empress from Houghton. One of the most striking pictures is a young man, apparently an Italian artist, in the dress of Leonardo da Vinci's time. I am not sure whether it is generally attributed to this master or no; there are some good Wouvermanns; but I was most struck with the Vandykes from Houghton, and the chamber of Rembrandt's. There is a fine collection, chiefly of smaller paintings, in a low covered gallery, shaped like an L, in which, about half-way down the room, is a magnificent view in the bay of Naples by G. Poussin. Both here and at Gatchina there are some fine Vernets. The best private collection in Petersburg is that of Count Stroganof; the modern paintings of the academy of arts are very wretched, but the institution itself is noble. There are about two hundred young men educated as artists at the expence of the crown, who are, most of them, lodged, and all fed within its walls; they are clothed by government in a uniform of green. Their statuary is better than their painting. Admiral Chichakof has employed Kerr Porter to paint some large pieces for a hall in the admiralty.

"The principal public establishments for education at Petersburg are, the convent of noble ladies, the school established by the present dowager empress for orphans, the cadet corps, the Jesuits' school, and the Alexandrooka cotton fabric, established by Sir Charles Gascoyne. Two or three hundred poor children, selected from different orphan houses are here maintained, instructed, and employed in spinning cotton. Sir Charles has introduced all the refinements of English machinery, at which some Englishmen are very angry; the children were clean and seemed well treated; but nothing surprised us more than the small size and apparent youth of some young women who were married. Marriages are, it is well known, early in Russia. The great patron of these, and of every other charitable institution, is the dowager empress, whose sound judgement, good sense and good character are apparently very remarkable. She shows great fondness for every active employment; and even in her amusements, which are



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turning ivory and studying botany, she proves her hatred of idleness. She is the only person who keeps up any degree of state in the empire; the emperor, his brother and his wife live more like private persons than princes. The court and the town are the dullest in the world. The emperor's greatest amusement consists in the organization and drill of his guards, of which the daily parade is one of the finest sights in Petersburg; each platoon, as the emperor passes, salutes him with a deep-toned cry of 'Sdrasta Alexander Povlovitz.' 'Alexander son of Paul,' it is well known is the usual way in which they speak of or to the emperor, or any other person; when they do not say this, they call their equals 'brat,' brother, and their superiors 'batushka,' father; names of family or office are only used when they speak French or German.

"There is a strange melange of nations in Petersburg, who appear to hate each other cordially; the Germans are very unpopular; and between them and the English there is a constant feud from the superiority of the latter in riches and in interest with the great. The term of 'niemitz,' dummy, at first given to all who could not speak Russ, is now by the lower Russians used only as a reproach to the Germans. The French in Petersburg are not very numerous, and are rather suspected people; and yet the education of the nobles is almost entirely in their hands. Even at Kostroma we found a French tutor, who was a violent jacobin; and perhaps if we had gone to Tobolsk we might have found the same thing; these fellows tell the most infamous lies of England without the possibility of being contradicted, as the natives are all ignorant of what happens out of their own country; and they have no doubt succeeded, in many instances, in exciting a most unfavourable impression of our nation.

"The only obstacle to St. Petersburg's becoming the noblest city in the world is its want of good materials. Its quays of hewn granite are all that are likely to go down to a very distant posterity; and if the court were removed, a hundred years would almost destroy every vestige of its present grandeur. Even the new Cathedral of

Casan, which is a magnificent specimen of genius, is of so perishable a stone (excepting the granite pillars within) that they intend to cover it with stucco and white-wash. The only large square in the town is that before the winter palace; the Isaac's place is a vast irregular area, containing the marble Church of St. Isaac, and the famous statue of Peter the Great; it is formed on one side by the boulevard, a gravel-walk, planted with lime-trees, carried along the glacis of the admiralty, which the present emperor has levelled for the purpose. On the other side is the building appropriated for the senate; this body it is known is the high court of justice of the country, and to which appeals lie from all the others. It is divided into two chambers, one held at Petersburg, the other at Moscow, each composed of four classes, with a different employment for each. The reigning emperor has conceded to them the privilege of enregistering the imperial edicts like the parliament of Paris, and even of rejecting them a first and second time; if, however, they are insisted on the third time, they are to submit. The internal jurisdiction of the country is entrusted to tribunals, which are erected in every district in the following manner:—the nobles elect two chiefs; the burghers two; and the crown appoints two more, one of whom is always president; these six compose the court, in which, when there is an equality of votes, the president has an additional casting voice. The justice of Russia is said to be very corrupt.

“During our stay at Petersburg, we made an excursion with Pollen to the iron-works managed for the government by his father-in-law, Mr. Gascoyne, at Colpina. These works are extremely interesting; they are constructed in a kind of amphitheatre, round a basin which communicates with a canal, the whole lined with granite quays of great beauty. In one part we observed nearly sixty persons employed in raising a small weight for driving piles, to effect which twenty men would, in England, have been thought too many. The waste of labour is excessive every where in Russia, as it must be where the labourers are slaves; (the Russians



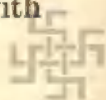
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themselves own that free servants and labourers are cheaper in the long-run than slaves.) I admired much the manner in which a constant stream of water was supplied to a saw-mill, from a fall at a few yards distance; by means of a stove the water in the pipe and cistern was brought to the wheel without freezing, and the whole machinery was very simple and ingenious.

“ Here, as well as at Petrozovodsky, in the government of Olonetz, and at Susterbeck in Carelia, is a manufacture of arms. All the Russian musquets, their screws, locks, stocks, worm-pickers, and all other the most minute parts are made in conformity to an exact guage; by this excellent system nothing is wasted, as from two or three useless musquets they may always make one good one, and the sound parts of their unserviceable arms may be always made use of for the repair of others. At Petrozovodsky the iron is drawn by poles out of the Ladoga lake; or rather the mud, impregnated with ferruginous particles, is thus collected and brought by the peasants to the *fabrique*. These iron-works were all founded by Peter the Great.

“ The Church of St. Nicholas of Colpina, and his image, are very famous for their miracles. A Russian professes never to sell the images of his saints; he, however, hawks them about the streets, and exchanges them for other saints, or *money* to *buy* them. The Russian system of crossing themselves is with three fingers, except the Raskolniki, who only use two; a bloody war was once the consequence of this distinction.

“ The police of Petersburg is very rigid; it consists of one general, several deputies, and three or four troops of cavalry, who are employed exclusively for this purpose. They are armed with pistols and short sabres, and patrol night and day, sometimes on horseback and sometimes on foot; there is also a watchman stationed at the corner of every street night and day, distinguished by a rattle, a wide great coat, a leather helmet, and a kind of battle-axe. These men are relieved every six hours; they have a small box, but larger than our watchmen have, provided with



a stove, so that they are preserved from the cold. In every government town the same arrangement takes place on a smaller scale¹.

“ The river, while frozen, is sometimes considered dangerous to cross by night, being far removed from houses or lamps ; and the different holes which are made to wash linen, afford a convenient hiding-place for murdered bodies.

“ The washing of clothes at Petersburg is very remarkable ; it is done by women, who stand for hours on the ice, plunging their bare arms into the freezing water, in, perhaps, eighteen or twenty degrees of frost. They shelter themselves from the wind, which is the most bitter part of winter—fifteen degrees of frost, with wind, being more severe than twenty-five or thirty without—by means of large fir branches stuck in the ice, on which they hang mats. In general the women seem to be more regardless of cold than the men ; they seldom, even in the most intense cold, wear any thing on their heads but a silk handkerchief. These handkerchiefs are sometimes very beautiful, and embroidered richly with gold. Silk is generally cheap in Russia, and is much more commonly worn by the lower classes than elsewhere. Thus clad, but with their bodies well guarded by furs, the Russian women are very fond of night promenades in sledges.

“ Of sledge-driving the natives are very fond, and the race-course on the ice before the palace is numerously attended. The racing-sledge is small and light, drawn by one horse, who is not allowed to break into a gallop. These horses are trained, when young, to great speed in their trot, by being obliged to keep up with others cantering by their sides. The sledges of pleasure most used are drawn by two horses, one of whom is in shafts, and trots ; the other is called the ‘ *furieux*,’ and capers and prances beside him. One servant drives, and another, standing behind the car-

¹ The Russians boast much of the excellence of their police. Colonel Villiachef, at Yroslav, told me that before its institution, in no country were murders, highway robberies, &c. so numerous or daring as in Russia ; at present they are not very frequent, though more so than might be supposed from the severity and apparent vigilance of the magistrates.



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riage, holds the rein of the *furieux*, whose head he almost turns round in a most unnatural and ridiculous attitude; these horses have all long manes and tails, lengthened by art.

“Carriages, those of merchants excepted, are all drawn by four horses; the postillion rides on the off-side. The usual charge of a carriage and four, all expences included, is about two hundred rubles monthly. The horses and servants are very hardly used, being frequently obliged to stand half a day and all night in the open air, exposed to severe cold. In the neighbourhood of the Greek theatre large fires are lighted under a kind of copper umbrella for their use, and all public amusements are forbidden when the cold is seventeen degrees.

“The nights are sometimes very beautiful, but I saw little or no *aurora borealis*. Count Caambe, the Danish secretary of legation, said it never was seen very brilliant in this city; but he spoke with rapture of its beauty in Lapland and East Bothnia, which he had traversed the winter before.”

To Mrs. Heber.

Petersburg.

“MY DEAR MOTHER,

“As ill news flies always swift, you are, no doubt, by this time as perfectly acquainted with the dreadful calamities which have befallen Europe, as we can be in Petersburg. Here, indeed, news is slowly and obscurely communicated to the public; and all the information that has yet been given, has merely transpired through private channels. The loss on the side of the Russians is, we are assured, much less than was at first reported; their courage and conduct appear unimpeached; it can scarcely be believed, what I have myself heard from one of the Emperor's *aides-de-camp*, that while both Austrians and French wanted nothing, the Russians were without provisions for above four-and-twenty hours; and that when the Emperor Alexander was taken

very seriously ill, and sent to his brother of Austria for a bottle of wine, it was, after a long treaty, refused him.

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“ Both Alexander and Constantine distinguished themselves greatly ; the latter, it is said, for nothing certain is known, is wounded. The emperor has been requested, since his return, to assume the military order of St. George, which he had never taken before, always professing to defer it till he had earned his spurs. Even now he replied with much modesty, that the first class, or great cross, was destined for great conquerors or generals ; that he had himself done little more than most officers in his army, and should not assume a higher rank than a chevalier of the third class. * * *

“ In consequence of the peace which Austria has made, and the subsequent withdrawal of the Russian troops, the emperor has been some days returned to Petersburg ; we were, of course, eager to see him, and were fortunate enough to have several opportunities. His arrival was perfectly sudden and unexpected ; he was at Gatchina, thirty miles from hence, before his setting out from the army was known, and arrived in Petersburg about five in the morning ; his first visit was paid to the Cathedral of our Lady of Casan, where he spent some time in prayer ; he then joined his wife and mother at the palace. The people, in the mean time, assembled in prodigious crowds before the gate ; and when, about half-past nine, he came out to inspect the guard, the whole mob gave one of the most tremendous and universal shouts which I ever heard ; they thronged round him, kissing his hands, his boots and clothes, with an enthusiasm which perfectly disregarded the threats and cudgels of the police-officers. Some men were telling their beads and crossing themselves ; others, with long black beards, crying and blubbing like children, and the whole scene was the most affecting picture of joy which I ever saw. When he was



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at length disengaged he went along the line, each company as he passed giving him the deep-toned short cheer, which is their customary morning exclamation, 'Bless you, Alexander Povlovitz.' His person is not unlike the idea I had previously formed, though he is rather thinner and slighter made. I cannot help fancying that his countenance is strongly expressive of the great fatigue and inquietude which he has undergone; but as I never saw him before, I am, of course, very unable to judge of his present looks. He is certainly a handsome man, but loses much of his height by stooping, which is, perhaps, occasioned by his being very short-sighted. His arrival has contributed greatly to keep up the spirits of the Petersburgers, who comfort themselves now with abusing the conduct of Austria, and submit with great cheerfulness to a new levy of one man in every hundred. Volunteer corps are also talked of, but will never, I think, be adopted; one circumstance which has surprized me much, as being directly contrary to our ideas of a Russian levy, is its expense, not indeed to government, but to individuals; the usual price of a substitute for the army is three or four hundred rubles, about forty pounds; and even the proprietors of land find, in so thinly peopled a country, the loss of some of their ablest hands a very considerable burthen. Much of this inconvenience is, however, I think, imaginary, as every person keeps exactly ten times the number of servants which we do in England, which could not be the case were labour so dear as we are sometimes told it is. Mr. Dimidof, with whom we have dined to day, said that he had 125 servants in his town-house, and many persons had twice that number, all of them peasants and all their own property. Even a merchant keeps many more than those of the same class in England, and as they are not proprietors of peasants they pay very high wages. The Russians reckon their population at forty millions, and say that this new levy will add about 60,000 men to their present army.

"The emperor is not the only sight we have seen, having been at court, and at a grand religious ceremony of the Tartars. We have as yet only been to court as spectators, as there is, at

present, no English ambassador here to introduce us ; but having a recommendation to the master of the ceremonies, he very kindly gave us an opportunity of seeing every thing to the best advantage, and introduced us to a gentleman who explained their religious ceremonies, for all the levees and drawing-rooms begin with service in the chapel. On our first entrance into the room we found it full of officers and foreign ministers, who ranged themselves in two lines for the empress to pass through from the inner room, followed by all her ladies, to the chapel ; at the upper end stood the senators and officers of the state, then the rest of the spectators, and the lower end of the room was occupied by Cossak officers, wild, savage-looking fellows, whose long black hair, bare necks, long flowing garments and crooked scimitars, formed a striking contrast with the bags and powdered wigs of the rest of the party. The chapel was crowded, and the singing the most beautiful I ever heard ; no musical instruments are allowed by the Greek Church, and never was more delightful harmony produced by vocal performers. The effect was very grand when the singing suddenly ceased, and the vast folding-doors of the sanctuary were thrown open, and the gilded altar and the priests (who are all selected for their beards and stature) were discovered amid a cloud of incense. During the service the empress stood on a step in the middle of the aisle, as no seats are allowed by the Greeks in their Churches. But little attention was paid to the service by the greater part of the audience, though some continued bowing and crossing themselves the whole time. After the bishop had given the final blessing, I was surprised to see the beautiful young empress, for I really think her very much so, kiss his hand, which he returned on her hand and cheek ; and his example was followed by the whole tribe of ecclesiastics, a race of as dirty monks as ever ate salt fish. The English clergy will, I fear, never be able to obtain a privilege like this.

“ The other ceremony I mentioned was the commencement of the month Ramadan, or Mahomedan Lent, and was chiefly remarkable for its novelty, and for the number of the followers of



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Mahomet among the lower classes of Petersburg. It must also be observed that they were the most decent, attentive congregation that I have seen since I left England. The ceremony was performed in the great hall of the palace, (now deserted and almost ruined) which Paul built, and where his life was terminated; their mode of worship is very singular, as were the difficulties to which they were some of them put to comply with the laws of their prophet. I saw one sailor strip himself almost naked that he might not be obliged to wear a green uniform when at prayer, green being forbidden to all but the lineal descendants of Mahomet. The same caution was visible in their place of worship; it was decorated with sculpture and eagles, all which they carefully concealed with sheets, lest their eyes should meet an idol.

“ I little thought I should hear the Alcoran read, or be dinned by exclamations of Allah, Allah Acbar. This is indeed the only sight of Mahomedan manners which, in all probability, I shall ever have, as, unless very good news comes, we shall certainly not think of Constantinople, but return much sooner than we at first intended to our respective volunteers; pray commend me to the Hodnet company, and tell them I am doing my utmost to gain information which may be useful to them, if they are ever brought into action; and that the more I see of the miserable state of Europe, I am the more convinced that Englishmen will shortly have to depend on their own patriotism, and their own bayonets. Hostilities are indeed a dreadful subject to occupy our letters and our conversation, and woe to the man who can view them with indifference! Russia, I believe, is firm, but Russia is herself in the greatest danger. We have the comfort, however, of being within a three weeks journey from England.

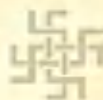
“ We set out to Moscow to-morrow, and shall stay there about six weeks; our route from thence will be determined by circumstances; but Poland is so detestable a country to traverse, that we have every motive of convenience and curiosity to come back by Petersburg, Riga, and Mittau. At that place we expect an introduction from the French minister here, to the little court of the

unfortunate king of France. Pollen, who has been exceedingly kind and hospitable, has given us letters to Warsaw, Berlin, and Dresden, and to Moscow we have recommendations without end. He invited us the other day to a villa of his father's-in-law, about 300 miles off, to shoot bears; as, however, the expedition was to occupy a whole month, we thought it better to decline it. You cannot conceive the warmth of our clothing for this journey to Moscow—a warmth which the mildness of the winter has hitherto rendered unnecessary, but which we are assured is absolutely requisite to save us from freezing in the cold nights which we must encounter on our journey. From Moscow you shall hear from me again.”

CRONSTADT.

“From Petersburg to Cronstadt (by land to Oranienbaum, and then across the Gulph) is about forty-five versts: by sea the direct distance is twenty-seven, and there are packet-boats during the summer; in winter the journey over the ice is very short. We went to Cronstadt by Oranienbaum, for the sake of seeing the palace there, and another at Peterhof. The country is not absolutely barren, nor uninteresting, but as nearly so as may be. It is very full of villas, and not quite so flat as the eastern side of Petersburg. It is a part of ancient Livonia, but is now, from its vicinity to Petersburg, assimilated with the Russians. Stuart told me that the Livonian peasants were the most miserable and oppressed by their lords of any district in Russia; and that some laws had been made expressly in their favour, as being subject to particular and crying abuses. They are called, together with Courland and Esthonia, the ‘German provinces.’ I think Coxe supposes that in Livonia the peasants are free, which, as far as I could ascertain from what Stuart said, as well as Baron Bode, who had himself property there, is an erroneous statement¹. In the isle of Dago a

¹ See also Tooke concerning Esthonia and the isle of Dago.



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singular piece of atrocity was lately discovered, of which we were informed by Mr. Krehmer. A nobleman residing there constantly hung out false lights, to cause shipwrecks; and with the assistance of his people murdered the seamen who escaped; he enjoyed the plunder for many years, and was convicted with difficulty, as his slaves were the only evidence, and it is forbidden to receive the testimony of a slave against his master; at last he was found guilty by the evidence of his own son. Enormities of this kind are, however, uncommon in the Baltic; and very seldom indeed are the fishermen and others backward in assisting vessels; this good effect is produced by the high salvage allowed by law, which is greatly above that in any other sea.

“ The palace of Peterhof was erected by Peter the Great, soon after the foundation of his capital. The plan of the gardens and grounds is Dutch; the situation, however, is magnificent, and the whole, from the gardens, has an air of ancient grandeur which is very imposing. The house is not magnificent; it is built of red brick, and stands on a high and steep bank, which is formed into a sort of amphitheatre of fountains and cascades, with gods and goddesses without end. The *jets d'eau* are boasted of by the Russians as equal to those at Versailles, and the effect on a hot day I can conceive to be very delightful; even the long straight alleys are far better and more agreeable for walking than the being burnt on a red-hot lawn. These gardens are lighted up one night in every summer, and a public masquerade given to all decently dressed persons. In Catherine's time this was a magnificent thing, and the delight of the bourgeoisie of Petersburg; at present the frugality of the emperor has greatly diminished its splendour, and in a few years it is expected to be given up entirely. At the bottom of the hill, close to the edge, and even dashed by the waves of the Gulph, is the cottage or summer-house which Peter frequently inhabited, and the temperature of which he found necessary to his feverish constitution. It is a small brick building of one story, with windows down to the ground, containing six or eight rooms, and fitted up like a Dutch villa. The furniture is precisely what Peter left, and

the bed and even sheets are preserved. It is furnished in a simple and in what was then considered, a gentlemanlike manner, something like an English house of about Queen Anne's time, with beaufets, corner-cupboards, and oak wainscotted rooms, all floored with Dutch tiles, which he liked for their coolness. There is a small collection of Dutch paintings made by himself when in Holland; and every thing shows how much he wished to recollect the active and interesting time he had passed as 'Master Peter,' at Sardam. His portrait in this character, drinking with the ship-carpenter, his master and instructor, hangs in a small gallery which forms the right wing; above is a view of a cellar which he frequented at Sardam; his own portrait is here again introduced, with that of a girl, the cellar-keeper's daughter, to whom he was much attached. Some of the other rooms are furnished entirely with his own hand; the beaufets and writing-desks are made by himself.

"After so interesting a place as Peterhof there is little at Oranienbaum to attract attention. The house originally built by Menzikof for himself is very small and mean; and there is nothing in the gardens but a flying mountain, where Catherine was nearly losing her life, and only saved by the prodigious strength of Alexis Orlof. There is also a pavilion where she lived during the reign of Elizabeth; it is fitted up with tapestry worked by the old princess Wyasemsky, as she herself told us. The fortification where Peter III. lived is now in ruins, having been dismantled by Paul; between this fortification and the gardens is a little neglected valley filled with hazels and alders, and with a brook running in the bottom, which Thornton discovered with great joy as the only place he could find which had escaped the shears, the spade, and the other expensive deformities which surrounded us.

"From Oranienbaum to the sea, about a verst, a straight canal is drawn exactly at right angles to the great gate; on this we embarked, and after a rather heavy pull across the Gulph, landed at Cronstadt. The channel for vessels of burthen is



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narrow ; the rest is all a shallow with not more than six or eight feet water ; it is owing to this circumstance that the Gulph of Finland is so soon frozen. On the left-hand in passing from Oranienbaum is a new battery on a small island, which is called Nelson's battery, as having been erected about the time he was expected. Between this island and the town is the channel for shipping, though even in that space, about two versts, are many shallows. The two harbours are entirely artificial, being simply large wet docks fenced from the sea by prodigious granite moles ; one is exclusively appropriated to ships of war ; and both have every appearance of great security and convenience. The whole island, seven versts long by about one in breadth, is surrounded by a granite wall ; but its principal security against attack is, no doubt, the shoal water. If however Nelson's battery were silenced, I do not think that even this would have availed very much. The merchants' harbour is small, and the vessels are literally packed like sheep in a fold. At the entrance of the mole, which is perhaps twenty yards wide, a sentinel hails every boat that enters, and every person must produce his passport. We had forgotten ours, but having letters to Mr. Booker, post agent to several of the English merchants, he contrived to obtain our admission. We were much struck by the multitude of shops, ale-houses, and similar buildings, with English signs and inscriptions ; and the sounds which came from the harbour were mingled with English words. Probably two-thirds of the shipping there were English or American.

“ A large canal runs through the town, leading to some beautiful dry docks in the centre of the island ; we were taken round these, as well as to every thing else that was remarkable, by a Captain Crow, an Englishman in the Russian service. No ships are built at Cronstadt ; they are all constructed in the admiralty at Petersburg, and floated down on camels over the bar ; this strains them terribly ; but the situation of the admiralty was assigned by Peter the Great to the place where he could himself daily inspect every thing that was going on. At present, however,

person and servant ; it is even strictly forbidden, under a heavy several of their vessels are built at Archangel, which is, on some accounts, a more convenient situation than Petersburg. Perhaps a new town about to be erected near the embouchure of the Petchora may be still better.

“ The Russians sailors during the winter are all in barracks, which are kept very clean, and the men are generally healthy. Their pay is only eight rubles per year, but they have an allowance of rye-bread when on shore ; at sea, of course their provisions are provided for them. They are employed in various singular ways, both here and at Petersburg, during their long stay on shore. We met many of them carrying the pictures and furniture into the Hermitage. Captain Crow told us that Chichakof had effected great reforms in the Russian navy ; he showed us several old ships which he had ordered to be broken up, and which certainly were a most extraordinary contrast with the new ones then in dock to be finished and rigged. Many of the old ones had been run up in the greatest haste during the sudden exigency of the Swedish war. We saw no galleys, except a few that were completely unserviceable, and none are now built. The largest ship in the Russ navy is of 130 guns, but would not, according to the English system, carry above one hundred.

“ The usual time of the ice setting in at Cronstadt and in the Neva is generally about the beginning of November, and it breaks up about the end of March. The Gulph of Finland is generally frozen before the Gulph of Bothnia, and Riga is sometimes open three weeks longer.”

JOURNEY FROM PETERSBURG TO MOSCOW.

“ We left Petersburg the night of the 30th December 1805. It had been our intention to set out early in the morning, but the never-failing delay in procuring the padorashna prevented us. To procure one it is necessary to send in the passports of every



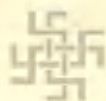
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fine, to keep or entertain any person without a passport, and a master is answerable for his servant. We saw an instance at the barrier going out of Petersburg of the ideas which the Russians entertain respecting merchants : one of our party, who was entered in his passport 'English merchant,' had some very causeless trouble given him by a stupid police-officer, who, at the same time, respected the sanctity of Thornton's passport and my own, because we were put down *duwanini*, or gentlemen. We had engaged free horses to take us the first sixty versts without stopping, and they were bound to do it in six hours. This is the usual way of quitting Petersburg ; but we afterwards found it advisable to have recourse to the regular system of post horses. The manner in which the post is conducted is as follows ; each peasant pays seven copeks a year, which sum is collected in every district, and is more than sufficient, with the usual rate of travelling, to defray the expence of a certain number of horses. This income is annually sold by auction to the highest responsible bidder, who is then bound to furnish, at the common post rate, a specified number of horses. If a traveller, on his arrival at the post-house, (the master of which is usually a government officer,) is told, on presenting his *pado-rashna*, that there are no horses at home, he demands to see the day-book, in which the postmaster is obliged to enter the number of horses he has sent out, and the travellers' names who have taken them. If this account does not correspond with the number of horses kept at that post, which is always printed in the appointment sent by the postmaster-general, you may oblige the man to furnish you with peasants' horses, he himself paying the additional expence. This information we had from Prince Wiasemsky, at Kostroma.

" Novogorod is the first great town you come to on leaving Petersburg ; its ancient fame and riches are well known ; but at present, we were told, for we were prevented seeing it, it is desolate and ruinous. The fabulous accounts of its foundation carry its date to 1710 years before Christ. The age of Ruric is

860 years after Christ; this was the first establishment of the Russians in those parts. Ruric reigned in Ladoga; his two brothers, Sineus and Truvor, the one in Belosero, near the lake of that name, the other in Isborsk, near Pstow. The Russians, a northern tribe of Scandinavians, were gradually incorporated with the Slavi; and Novogorod submitted voluntarily, being weary of internal factions. After Ruric's death, A.D. 879, Igor, his son, held Novogorod as a dependancy rather than a possession. Oleg, brother-in-law to Ruric, and at his death regent of Russia, afterwards emigrated to Kreis, when Novogorod revolted, and was sometimes free and sometimes dependant; it never was conquered by the Tartars. Its government at length became pretty nearly assimilated to that of the other Hanse towns. There were long disputes and intrigues between the Poles, Swedes, and Russians, for the possession of the great Novogorod, which at last fell before the fortune of Ivan Vassilovitz the First, although defended with great patriotism, and inspired by the genius of Martha Polofski. The army of Novogorod then consisted of 30,000 knights, besides archers, who were defeated with the death of their general, Martha's adopted son. After a short siege Novogorod followed the fate of its defenders; this was in 1478. Its great bell, which is now seen in the Kremlin at Moscow, was then taken away; it assembled the people to council, and was considered as the palladium of their liberty. The ruin of the city was completed by Ivan the Second, 1570, in revenge for their reiterated rebellions.

“ Here, as well as in almost every town between Petersburg and Moscow, is an imperial palace; it is, however, only a small wooden lodge so dignified, where the emperors sometimes pass the nights on their journeys. At Brounitza is a singular hill, with a Church on the summit, which Pallas imagines to be an artificial mound. It is of a perfectly regular form, though its size, being at least three times the size of the castle-hill at Oxford, makes its being entirely the work of art rather improbable. Valdai is a large town seated on a ridge of stony hills, which the Russians, who have never seen any thing higher, call mountains, and which are the ancient boundary



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between Russia and Novogorod. They extend in a wavy direction, and gradually diminishing in size, to the neighbourhood of Moscow. Though the hills themselves are trifling, the elevation from the sea is no doubt great, as from this province and the neighbouring ones, the great rivers all rise. The country between the sources of the Oka, Volga, and Dnieper, is very abundant in hemp.

“Valdai has a large convent in the middle of a lake founded by the famous Nikon, and renowned for a picture of the virgin Mary brought hither from Mount Athos, whence the convent bears the name of Aphonsky, the Russians pronouncing the $\Theta \phi$. Travellers are always beset here by a number of women who sell Calashki, a species of cake. Great part of this neighbourhood was originally peopled by colonies from Poland, and the inhabitants are much poorer and more dirty than in other parts of Russia. Their dress, however, is every where the same, consisting of a kaftan,—the feet wrapt round with bandages of hempen cloth, and defended with sandals of a kind of strong matting, made of the lime-tree bark. Boots are very rarely seen except on the starosta (elder of the village¹.) This practice of making shoes of linden bark is very destructive to the trees, as a man will wear out from twenty to thirty pairs of sandals in a year. The lime-trees of which they are made are very valuable, on account of their bark, of which mats are also made, and form a very considerable article of exportation. It is scarce in the western provinces, not loving the hungry sand; but in the eastern it is very plentiful, and flourishes even as high as Archangel. I have seldom seen finer trees than they are at Petersburg in the summer garden, and at Stockholm they thrive even better.

“We observed a striking difference between the peasants of the crown, and those of individuals in general; the former are almost all in comparatively easy circumstances; their *abrock* or rent is fixed at five rubles a year, all charges included; and as they are sure that it will never be raised they are more industrious.

“The peasants belonging to the nobles have their rent,

¹ On this subject see Scherer, *Histoire de la Commerce de la Russie*.



regulated by their means of getting money ; the average payment throughout the empire is about eight or ten rubles annually. In this way it becomes, not a rent for land, but a downright tax on their industry. Every male peasant is obliged by law to labour three days in each week for his proprietor, and this law takes effect on his arriving at the age of fifteen. If the proprietor chooses to employ him the other days he may, (as for example in a manufactory) but he then finds him in food and clothing. Mutual advantage, however, generally relaxes this law ; and excepting such as are selected for domestic servants, or are employed in manufactories, the slave pays a certain rent to be allowed to work all the week on his own account, his master being bound to furnish him with a house and a certain portion of land. The allotment of land is generally settled by the starosta, and by a meeting of the peasants themselves. In the same manner, when a master wants an increase of rent, he sends to the starosta, who convenes the peasants, and by this assembly it is decided what proportion each individual must pay. If a slave exercises any trade which brings him in more money than agricultural labour, he pays a higher rent ; if he can get more money by going to Petersburg or any other great town, his master frequently permits him to go, but his rent is raised. Even the most minute earnings are subject to this oppression ; the men employed as drivers at the post-houses pay a rent out of the drink-money they receive, for being permitted to drive, as otherwise their master might employ them in less profitable labour. The aged and infirm are provided with food, and raiment, and lodging, at the expense of their owner ; such as prefer casual charity to the miserable pittance they receive from them, are frequently furnished with passports and allowed to seek their fortunes, but they sometimes pay a rent even for this permission to beg. The number of beggars in Petersburg is very small ; when one is found he is immediately sent back to his owner. In Moscow and other towns they are numerous, though I think less so than in London ; they beg with great modesty in a low and humble tone of voice, frequently crossing



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themselves, and are much less clamorous and importunate than a London beggar. The master has the power of correcting his slaves by blows or confinement; but if he be guilty of any great cruelty he is amenable to the laws, which are, we are told, executed on this point with impartiality. In one of the towers of the Khitai-gorod at Moscow, there was a Countess * * * confined for many years, with a most unrelenting severity, which she merited for cruelty to her slaves. Instances of barbarity are, however, by no means rare. At Kostroma, the sister of M. Kotchetof the governor, gave me an instance of a nobleman who had nailed, if I understood her right, his servant to a cross; the master was sent to a monastery, and the business hushed up. Domestic servants and those employed in manufactories, as they are more exposed to cruelty, so they sometimes revenge themselves in a terrible manner; the brother of a lady of our acquaintance, who had a great distillery, disappeared suddenly, and was pretty easily guessed to have been thrown into a boiling copper by his slaves. We heard another instance, though not from equally good authority, of a lady, now in Moscow, who had been poisoned three several times by her servants.

“ No slave can quit his village or his master's family without a passport; every individual arriving in a town or village, must produce his to the starosta; and no one can harbour a stranger without one. If a person is found dead, and no passport is about him, his body is sent to the hospitals for dissection; of this custom we happened to be witnesses in one instance. The punishment of runaways is imprisonment and hard labour in the government works; and a master may send to the public work-house any peasant he chooses. The prisons at Moscow and Kostroma were chiefly filled with such runaway slaves, who were for the most part in irons. On the frontier they often escape, but in the interior this is next to an impossibility. Yet, during the summer, desertions are very common, and they sometimes lurk about for many months, living miserably in the woods; this particularly happens when there is a new levy of soldiers.



“ The levies are made by taking one from every certain number of peasants at the same time all over the empire ; but if a master is displeased with his slave, he may send him for a soldier whenever he pleases, taking a receipt from government that he may contribute, one man less to the ensuing levy. He also selects the recruits he sends to government, with this restriction, that they are young men, free from disease, have sound teeth, and are five feet two inches high.

“ The starosta, of whom mention has been so frequently made, is an officer resembling the ancient bailiff of an English village ; he is generally chosen, as we were informed, by the peasants, sometimes annually, and sometimes for life. He is answerable for the payment of the rents to the lord ; decides small disputes among the peasants ; gives billets for quarters to soldiers, or to government officers on a journey, and performs all the lesser public duties of a similar nature. Sometimes the proprietor of the district claims the right of his appointment. A slave can on no pretence be sold out of Russia, nor in Russia to any but a person born noble, or, if not noble, having the rank of lieutenant-colonel. (This rank is not confined to the military, but may be obtained by men in civil situations. Professor Pallas had the rank of brigadier.) The law is, however, eluded, as ‘ roturiers’ frequently purchase slaves by making use of the name of some privileged person ; and all nobles have the right to let out their slaves for hire. Such is the political state of the peasants ; with regard to their comfort and means of supporting existence, I do not think they are deficient ; their houses are in tolerable repair, moderately roomy, and well adapted to the habits of the people ; they have the air of being sufficiently fed, and their clothing is warm and substantial. Fuel, food, and the materials for building are very cheap, but almost all kinds of clothing are dear ; for a common peasant’s cloth kaftan we were asked thirty rubles ; and even supposing the tradesman would have taken less, yet twenty is more than twice the price of an English peasant’s coat. In summer they generally wear nankeen kaftans, one of which costs thirteen rubles. The *labkas* (lin-



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den bark sandals) cost nothing. They wear a blue nankeen shirt, trimmed with red, which costs two or three rubles; linen drawers, and linen or hempen rags wrapped round their feet and legs, over which the richer sort draw their boots. The sheep-skin schoube costs eight rubles, but lasts a long time, as does a lamb-skin cap, which costs three; the common red cap is about the same price. To clothe a Russ peasant or soldier completely is, I apprehend, three times as chargeable as in England; their clothing, however, is strong, and, as being loose and wide, lasts longer. A Russ is very seldom seen quite in rags. With regard to the idleness of the lower classes, of which we had heard great complaints, it appears that where they have an interest in exertion, they by no means want industry, and possess the same desire for luxuries which other people do. The great proprietors never raise their rents, and have very rich and prosperous peasants,

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* * * * * The crown peasants, also, it is reasonable to suppose, are happy, living at their ease, paying a moderate quit-rent, and choosing their own starosta; they are, however, more exposed to vexation and oppression from the petty officers of the crown¹.

“ The time when the levies for the army are made is looked upon by the peasants with great terrour. Baron Bode told me that they generally kept the levy a secret as long as possible, till they had fixed on and secured a proper number of men; these men are, for the most part, kept chained until they are sworn in; the forepart of their heads is then shaved, and they are thus easily distinguished from other peasants; after this, desertion is very rare and very difficult.

“ The distress of one of their popular dramas, which we afterwards saw acted at Yaroslav, in the private theatre of the governor, Prince Gallitzin, consists in a young man being pressed as a soldier. In the short reign of Peter the Second, who it is well

¹ This account of the peasants is an *abrégé* from the different statements we heard at Moscow, chiefly from Prince Theodore Nicalaiovitz Gallitzin.



known, transferred again the seat of government to Moscow, no man was forced to become a soldier; the army was recruited by volunteers, and slaves were permitted to volunteer¹.

“Of the agriculture of the country we, of course, were unable to form a judgement; it appears from Gmelin that in this part of Russia a custom prevails of cutting the corn when it is green, and drying it afterwards in smoke. Near Valdai is found in great abundance the *gordius aquaticus*, a worm like a hair, which is said to eat into the flesh². In the hills coal is found resembling the Scotch; it lights with difficulty, but emits a strong heat; yet it will not support the action of the bellows, and is, consequently, useless in a forge. There are also salt springs

“The oak and ash-trees abound in the hills. The country people apply to wounds a powder of the dried leaf of the wild geranium; they make great use of other wild vegetables, boiling the wild angelica, the *rumex obtusa* (sorrel), the *atriplex hastata* (orache) which, boiled with fish or meat, supplies the place of sour crout; from this last plant they make a kind of treacle. Quas is made with unleavened bread allowed to ferment in water exposed to a gentle heat.

“Vischnei Volotchok is famous for the canal which joins the Mesta and Twertza, and by this means the Baltic and the Caspian.

“Torshok is chiefly remarkable for its leather manufactories. We here met with a famous receipt for the cure of rheumatism, which consists of an oil extracted from horse-radish, which is both taken internally and used externally. Tver is a very fine town; the old town was burnt down in the time of Catherine the Second and rebuilt by her on a regular plan. This part of Muscovy possesses a great advantage in its quarries of freestone, which is very handsome but not very durable.

“At the post after we left Klin, the drivers in order to have a good bargain by carrying us all the way to Moscow, drove us, without our knowledge, five versts beyond the post-house. We

¹ See Manstein.

² Gmelin *Receuil des Voyages*, Vol. V. p. 73.



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obliged them to return, and saw a singular instance of the authority of the postmaster of a petty village receiving-house, who, though his station was not more dignified than that of the lowest clerk of the post-office in England, yet ordered these two fellows to be beaten soundly with hazel sticks on the bare back, which was immediately done, the men roaring out lustily. He then took from them the money we had paid them, and put their horses in requisition to go the next stage.

“ * * * * *

* * * * *

The carriers, of whom we daily met thousands, each with his ‘sanky,’ (small sledge) and single horse, travel many hundred versts without even allowing their horses to lie down; they feed them very liberally with corn, but only let them stand for about an hour every night in one of the serais. A small horse can draw the prodigious weight of thirty pood along a sledge-road; for carriage from Petersburg to Moscow, which is 720 versts, the charge is from thirty-five to forty copeks the pood.



CHAPTER V.

MOSCOW.

Aspect of the country—Russian cottages—Entrance into Moscow—Society—Greek funeral—History of Moscow—Kitai-gorod—Kremlin—Antiquities—Churches—Palaces—Foundling hospital—Theatres—College of foreign affairs—Prison—Inundation—Silk manufactories—Beauty of the women—Journey to Kostroma—Palace of Count Sheremetóf—Manners of the Russian gentry—Convent of Bethany—Monks—Clergy—Visit to Archbishop Plato—His conversation and appearance—Homilies—Rostof—Madame Vassilchikof—Yaroslav—Manufactures—Greek ordination service—Wolf hunt—Kostroma—Prison—Orphan-house—Tartar families—Return to Moscow.

To Mrs. Heber.

Moscow, Jan. 4, 1806.

“MY DEAR MOTHER,

“OUR journey has been prosperous, and after about ninety hours' continued jolting, we arrived safely at Moscow about eight o'clock last night. Mr. Bayley¹ came with us, and we have found his knowledge of the Russian language and manners of great service to us on the road. Our method of travelling deserves describing, both as very comfortable in itself, and as being entirely different from every thing in England. We performed the journey in kibitkas, the carriages usually employed by the Russians in their winter journeys; they are nothing more than a very large cradle, well covered with leather, and placed on a sledge, with a leather curtain in front; the luggage is packed at the bottom, the portmanteaus serving for an occasional seat, and the whole covered

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¹ Sir Daniel Bayley, now, 1830, consul-general of England in St. Petersburg.—Ed.



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with a matrass, on which one or more persons can lie at full length, or sit supported by pillows. In this attitude, and well wrapped up in furs, one can scarcely conceive a more luxurious mode of getting over a country, when the roads are good, and the weather not intense; but in twenty-four or twenty-five degrees of frost, Reaumur, no wrapping can keep you quite warm; and in bad roads, of which we have had some little experience, the jolting is only equalled by the motion of a ship in a storm.

“ In the weather we were very fortunate, having a fine clear frost, about as mild as an English Christmas. Our first forty hours were spent in traversing an unfertile and unlovely country, the most flat and uninteresting I ever saw, with nothing but occasional patches of cultivation, and formal fir woods, without a single feature of art or nature which could attract attention. Once, indeed, from a little elevation, we saw the sun set to great advantage; it was singular to see it slowly sinking beneath the black and perfectly level horizon of the sea of land which surrounded us. The night which followed was distinguished by more jolting than usual; and about sun-rise Thornton drew the curtain, and cried out ‘ England.’ I started up and found we were on the summit of a low range of stony hills, with an enclosed and populous country before us, and a large town, Valdai, which, with its neighbourhood, had some little resemblance to Oxford, as seen from the Banbury road. This is, in fact, the boundary of Ancient Russia; all beyond were the territories of Novogorod, Istria, and the other countries they have conquered.

“ The whole plain from Valdai to Moscow is very level, entirely arable, generally common fields with some shabby enclosures, thickly set with villages and small coppices, in which the firs begin to be relieved by birch, lime, ash and elm. Tver and Torshok are large towns, but have nothing in them to detain a traveller. During this journey I was struck by observing the very little depth of snow on the ground, which was not more, or so much, as we often see in England, and no where prevented my distinguishing the meadows from the stubble-fields. Mr. Bayley said he had often made the

same observation, and that it was not peculiar to the present year. We had our guns with us ; and often left the kibitka in pursuit of the large black grouse, of which we saw several,—a noble bird as large as a turkey. They were, however, so wild we could not get a fair shot. We had some hopes of killing a wolf, as one or two passed the road during the first part of our journey ; but it was during the night, and before we were fairly roused and could get our guns ready, they were safe in the wood. In severe winters they are sometimes easily shot, as they keep close to the road side ; and when very much famished will even attack the horses in a carriage ; they are not considered dangerous to men except in self-defence. Of the people we, of course, saw but little ; though having so good an interpreter with us, we asked many questions and went into several of the cottages, which we found much cleaner than we expected, but so hot that we could not endure to remain in them long. A Russian cottage is always built of logs cemented with clay and moss, and is generally larger than an English one ; it has two stories, one of which is half sunk and serves as a storehouse ; two-thirds of the upper story are taken up with the principal room, where they sit and sleep ; and the remainder is divided between a closet where they cook their victuals, and an immense stove, not unlike an oven, which heats the whole building, and the top of which, for the chimney is only a small flue on the side, serves as a favourite sitting and sleeping-place, though we could scarcely bear to lay our hands on it. In the corner of the great room always stands the bed of the master and mistress of the family, generally very neat and with curtains, sometimes of English cotton ; the other branches of the family sleep on the stove or floor. In the post-houses, which differ in no respect from this description, we always found good coffee, tea and cream ; nothing else can be expected, and we carried our other provisions with us.

“ The country people are all alike, dirty, good-humoured fellows, in sheep-skin gowns, with the wool inwards. The drivers crossed themselves devoutly before beginning each stage, and sung the whole way or else talked to their horses. A Russian seldom



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beats his horse, but argues with him at first, and at last goes no further than to abuse him, and call him wolf or Jew, which last is the lowest pitch of their contemptuous expressions. Their horses are much larger and better fed than the Swedish, and when talked to *secundum artem* trot very fast. Nothing on our journey surprised us so much as the crowds of single-horse sledges, carrying provisions to Petersburg: it would not be exaggerating to say that we passed in twenty-four hours about a thousand. Every article of necessary consumption must, indeed, be brought from a distance, as the neighbourhood of Petersburg produces nothing to 'make trade,' very little to 'make eat.' When I have seen the fine fertile country abounding in every thing good and desirable, which Peter deserted for the bogs and inclement latitude of the Neva, I wonder more and more at the boldness and success of his project. It is as if the king of England should move his capital from London to Bamff, and make a Windsor of Johnny Groat's house.

" We reached this vast over-grown village, for I can compare it to nothing else, in the moonlight, and consequently saw it to great advantage; though, as we passed along its broad irregular streets, we could not but observe the strange mixture of cottages, gardens, stables, barracks, Churches, and palaces. This morning we have been much delighted with a more accurate survey. Moscow is situated in a fine plain, with the river Moskva winding through it; the town is a vast oval, covering about as much ground as London and Westminster. The original city is much smaller; it forms one quarter of the town, under the name of Kitai-gorod, the city of Kathay; it has preserved this name from the time of the conquest of Russia by the Tartars, when they seized on the city, and made the Russians quit their houses, and build without its walls what is now called, Biel-gorod, or White Town. Kitai-gorod is still surrounded by its old Tartar-wall, with high brick towers of a most singular construction; the gates are ornamented in the same oriental style, and several of the older Churches have been originally mosques. But it is in the Kremlin, or palace quarter, that the principal vestiges of

the Khans are displayed ; their palace still exists entire, and is a most curious and interesting piece of antiquity. As I walked up its high staircase, and looked round on the terraces and towers, and the crescents which yet remain on their gilded spires, I could have fancied myself the hero of an eastern tale, and expected, with some impatience, to see the talking-bird, the singing-water, or the black slave with his golden club. In this building, which is now called the treasury, are preserved the crowns of Kasan, Astrachan and Siberia, and of some other petty Asiatic kingdoms. The present imperial apartments are small and mean, and are separated from the Tartar palace by a little court. The first entrance to the Kremlin, after passing the great Saracenic gate, is excessively striking, and the view of the town and river would form a noble panorama. I was indeed so well satisfied with what I saw from the court-yard, which is very elevated, that I was not a little unwilling to do what is expected from all strangers,—to clamber up the tower of St. Michael to see a fine prospect turned into a map. The tower stands in the middle of the court ; half-way up is the gallery whence the ancient monarchs of Russia, down to the time of Peter the Great, used to harangue the assemblies of the people. Before it is a deep pit containing the remains of the famous bell cast by the empress Anne, and about three times the size of the great bell at Christ Church. It was originally suspended on a frame of wood, which was accidentally burnt down, and the weight of the bell forced it, like the helmet of Otranto, through the pavement into a cellar. On each side of the Michael tower is a Christianized mosque, of most strange and barbarous architecture ; in one of them the sovereigns of Russia are crowned, and in the other they are buried. The rest of the Kremlin is taken up by public offices, barracks, the archiepiscopal palace, and two or three convents. An immense ditch, with a Tartar wall, surrounds it, and it is approached by two gates, the principal of which a Russian never passes with his hat on.

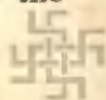
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* * * The houses, with the exception of some vast palaces belonging to the nobility, are meanness itself. The shops are truly Asiatic, dark, small, and huddled together in long-vaulted bazars, and the streets ill paved and lighted.

“*January 10th.*—Of the society we have seen too little to form any judgement. We have called on the governor, and some other persons to whom we had letters of introduction, and have been civilly received. We have also been at two private concerts, at one of which we met Madame Mara, who is now here with Signor Florio, and who sung but very carelessly. Concerts are fashionable in Moscow; and cards, as may be expected in a society which, though they will not allow it, is certainly at present provincial, are much more common than at Petersburg. The society consists in a great measure, we are told, of families of the old nobility and superannuated courtiers, who live in prodigious state, and, from what we have seen, great and almost cumbersome hospitality. Some of their daughters seem tolerably accomplished, and very good-natured unaffected girls; we have seen nothing remarkably beautiful, though the bloom and fresh complexions of Moscow are often envied by the Petersburg belles. We promise ourselves a great deal of amusement and instruction from the number of old officers and ministers who have figured in the revolution, and the busy scenes of Catherine’s time. This being Christmas-day, according to the Russian calendar, we are going to a grand gala dinner of the governor’s; it is necessary for us to go in full uniform, which, indeed, we must frequently do, as ‘the old courtiers of the queen and the queen’s old courtiers,’ are much more attentive to such distinctions than the circle we have left in Petersburg. The English nation is said to be in high favour here, and we were much gratified by the cordial manner in which many persons expressed themselves towards us. We have been rather fortunate in seeing a splendid Greek funeral, attended by a tribe of priests, deacons, and archimandrites, under the command of one archbishop and two subalterns. The archbishop was a Circassian, and one of the



bishops a Georgian. The 'divine Plato' is not now in Moscow. I am eagerly expecting letters from you, which, with some regard to the news from Germany, must decide our future tour.

" Believe me, dear Mother,

" Yours affectionately,

" REGINALD HEBER."

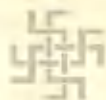
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" This great city was originally built, according to some of the older chronicles, by Oleg, brother-in-law to Ruric, in the year of our Lord 882. According to others, George Vladimirovitz, surnamed the 'long-handed,' struck with the beauty of the situation and of the heiress who was to inherit it, married his son Andrei to Vlita, daughter of Stepan Ivanovitz Kutchko, lord of the district. The Kitai-gorod took its name from a nickname of this prince. At any rate, it appears that Moscow was rebuilt by George, son of Vladimir, *circa* 1155.

" Baty Khan, chief of the Moguls of the Golden Horde, and nephew of the famous Zingis, seized it, and destroyed or carried away most of the inhabitants. This was probably the time when the Kremlin (a Tartar word, signifying fortress) and the Kitai-gorod (Cathayan town) took their names. The Biel-gorod (White town) was the residence of those Russians who were allowed to remain; but, as the same hordes also treated the Chinese, they were obliged to build their houses without the wall. The Emperor of Russia is now called by the Tartars the White Khan; and the name appears natural, as the Tartars are much more swarthy than the Russians. The general derivation of these names is, that the white town was surrounded by a white wall, and that Chinese goods (for every thing beyond the Oby is Kitai) were sold in the Kitai-gorod. Moscow was reconquered A.D. 1296, by Daniel Alexandrovitz.

" In the year 1300 or 1328, it became the capital of Muscovy, but tributary to the Tartars; it was again entirely subdued by the



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Golden Horde, under Mamai Khan, in 1380, and at length delivered by Ivan the First; but though released from subjection to the Golden Horde, it was still tributary to the Khans of Kapshak, Krim, and Perekop, till the time of Ivan the Second: in the year 1521, it was very nearly taken by Mahomet Gerçi, and his brother Sap Gerçi, who defeated the Russians, and were only prevented from reducing it to ruin by the bravery of a single German soldier, Nicholas Von Speier. In Ivan the Second's reign it was burnt by the Krim Tartars, A.D. 1571; the number of its inhabitants was then about 30,000¹. In the time of Olearius, 1623, the town consisted of 40,000 houses, and 2000 Churches, Chapels, and monasteries. Alexis Michailovitz, father of Peter the Great, was the man who finally delivered Moscow from the annual attacks and fear of the Krim Tartars.

“The circuit of Moscow we have heard variously stated; it may perhaps be about thirty-six versts, (twenty-six miles); but this includes many void spaces. The population is, as usual, exaggerated. It is decidedly greater than that of Petersburg; I should think three or four times as much, judging from the concourse in the streets. The extent, in comparison with that of Petersburg, is nearly, as may be seen by the plan, twelve to one; and yet, from the master of the police, of all men the most likely to know, the population was estimated at only 250,000 fixed inhabitants. The servants and numerous retainers of the nobles may be perhaps estimated at nearly 30,000, who are here only in winter. The form of the Biel-gorod is nearly a circle, and it is now surrounded, on the site of the ancient rampart, with a walk planted with limes. This was an improvement of Paul's, and will, when the trees are grown, be a great ornament, as the space on each side forms a street, in some places, perhaps, three times as wide as Portland-place, and with many fine houses. The width of the London streets is, indeed, greatly diminished in our estimation by a view of some of those in Moscow or Petersburg; at the latter place, the exercise-house of the

¹ See Possevin. Also “A Letter of Richard Uscombe, touching the burning of Moscow by the Krim Tartars.”

Michaelovsky palace is seven feet wider than Portland-place, and without a single pillar. The other streets of Moscow are not wide, and are very irregular; the houses are now mostly built of brick, wood being forbidden in any new erection, though the law is often evaded, and perhaps one-half of the town is still of wood. Within the Biel-gorod, which is all that can be fairly called the town, the houses are almost all contiguous, and the population certainly great; though even here many of the principal residences have gardens, coach-houses, and yards, which take up much room. The architecture of Moscow is, as may be supposed, very various, and generally most extravagantly barbarous.

“ On the whole, however, the broad and winding streets, the irregularity of the ground, the variety of form and plan in the buildings, some of which are really most magnificent; the beautiful windings of the Mosqua river, and the singular forms of the Churches and steeples, make Moscow a noble and most interesting town; and there is, perhaps, no place in Europe more likely to detain a traveller.

“ The principal buildings are, 1st. the Kremlin, with its vast cluster of fine edifices; 2d. the famous Church of which the architect lost his eyes by order of Ivan the II^d.; 3d. the assembly-room of the nobles’ club; 4th. the foundling-hospital; 5th. the imperial palace in the Slobode; 6th. the hospital of Prince Gallitzin; 7th. the theatre, now burnt; 8th. M. Paschkof’s house; 9th. the university; 10th. the college for foreign affairs; 11th. the admiralty; 12th. Menzikof’s steeple.

“ On entering the city from Petersburg, our route lay to the right along the boulevarde, which in one part descends into a pretty deep valley which winds through the town, with a string of pools in the bottom, where are ice-hills every winter. The hill opposite is covered with buildings of the most singular form, with the steeples of Menzikoff’s Church, a high building like a pagoda, on the right hand, and on the left at some distance the admiralty, a building of a still more singular appearance, of immense height, raised over the gate which leads to Troitza. If you pursue the



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boulevarde as far as the Prokovka, you find to the right a long and straight street, which conducts you through the gate of the Kitai-gorod; here to the left hand you have a magnificent view of the Tartar and Yoaouse Slobodi; over the roof of the foundling hospital in the foreground is the tower where the cruel Countess *** was confined—a most dismal habitation. The walls of the Kitai-gorod are of brick, of great thickness, furnished with polygonal and square towers, diminishing in stories like those in the great wall of China. These are all of brick, with narrow loop-holes and semicircular arches, and are all machicolated; without is a very deep and wide ditch. In some parts, particularly on the countess' tower, are some young mountain-ash, which grow out of the rubbish on the top of the building, and have a very picturesque effect. The tops of all the towers are formed into high octagonal, or more commonly square, spires.

“The streets within the Kitai-gorod are close, narrow, and winding; there are few good dwelling-houses, the space being chiefly taken up with shops, Churches and convents. One building, now a warehouse belonging to government, still shows the lion and unicorn on its gate, which points it out as the ancient house of the English ambassadors. The space of the arms is occupied by a Slavonic, or ancient Russ inscription, for I could never learn it accurately, which declares the English to be regicides, heathens, and expelled the Russian empire. This was done at the time of Charles the First's death. Another ruinous building was the object of popular fear and detestation during the reigns of the four last sovereigns of Russia. It was a state prison, which from the secrecy with which persons were sent there and the dreadful probability of their never re-appearing, was called the ‘Kremlin expedition.’ It is now empty and the doors are open. The shops are all under arches in the eastern style, and the whole place is crowded and busy as a hive of bees.

“We now approach the holy gate of the Kremlin, which is separated from the city by a vast ditch and mound, crowned with a high brick rampart, which is garnished with very tall towers of a

circular form, diminishing like pagodas, and surmounted with high spires. The breast-works of the wall are in a very singular style, and seem to be intended as an imitation of palisadoes. The whole has a perfectly eastern air. The holy gate is painted red, and most of the towers have green spires; beyond the whole building is a cluster of turrets, spires, and domes. The famous Church of St. Basil, built by Solarius, an Italian architect, for Ivan the Second, who put out the artist's eyes in consequence of a foolish boast¹, is on the left hand; a strange building of painted brick, clustered with seven spires rising like a crown one above another. On the right hand is the great market; a fine range of shops under regular arcades and well disposed. You enter the holy gate by a long narrow bridge over the fosse; on the left hand is a noble view down to the river. The whole *coup d'œil* much resembled Serin-gapatam, as represented in Kerr Porter's panorama. In passing under the holy gate all hats are taken off in reverence for a saint suspended over it, who delivered the citadel, as tradition affirms, by striking a sudden panic into an army of Poles, which had possession of the town, and had almost succeeded in forcing this gate of the Kremlin². Within the wall is a magnificent area on the summit of the hill, whence is one of the finest views I ever saw, of the town, the river, the bridges, and of the surrounding country, which is really very beautiful, particularly a wooded range of hills called the Sparrow hills. On the right hand, in the Kremlin, is the palace of the archbishop, beyond it the senate-house and several other public buildings; on the left, on the very brow of the hill, is a shed covering some ancient pieces of eastern cannon, and the famous bell which once summoned the freemen of Novogorod the Great. Directly in front is the tower of St. John, and behind it, the imperial palace with its high stone staircase and terrace, and on each side the churches of the Assumption and St. Michael; the one where the emperors are crowned, the other where they are buried. Behind this again, and on the very termination of the triangular

¹ Solarius boasted that he had often seen finer edifices in Italy.—ED.

² Vide Crull's account of Muscovy, vol. i. p. 331. Lond. 1698.



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hill, is the ancient palace of the czars, now the treasury. The whole together forms a wonderful group, of which the Muscovites have reason to boast.

“ On advancing to the imperial apartments you mount a stone stair, adorned with carved lions, to a high terrace, which runs round the building, commanding the whole town ; after turning to the right hand into a kind of hall ornamented with some very ancient Greek frescos, you pass, again to the right, into the great hall of audience, which we were prevented from seeing. To the left you enter a small irregular court, having on one side the old palace, where are to be remarked the balcony, whence Nariskhin was thrown out by Sophia’s orders on the pikes of the *strelitzes*¹, the window whence Alexy Michaelovitz received petitions, and the little turret from whence the czars used to view the city.

“ Among the antiquities preserved in this building, of which the interior apartments are small, low, and vaulted, are chiefly to be noticed the throne constructed for the princes Ivan and Peter, with a recess behind where their sister Sophia sat to dictate to them their answers to all ambassadors and public business ; the crown brought from Kiof, with an inscription, and some others sent by Persian sultans ; some ancient Russ and Tartar pieces of armour, very similar to each other in form, and chiefly consisting of chain work, with a conical helmet, and some very costly robes of the ancient patriarchs. There is a great quantity of old plate which was anciently, as we learnt from Count Moussin Pouschkin, used as a means of rewarding eminent services ; a cup with a cover and the spread-eagle engraved on it, was given to the person of highest rank,—one without these additions came next ; a gold coin with a hole drilled through it, rewarded military services ; and one of a similar shape, but without the hole, was given as a less brilliant distinction. Civil rank was pointed out by a silver inkhorn hung on the left-side. The ancient coins are not struck, but punched out on the reverse, so as to stand prominent, and two pieces are often joined together so as to have the appearance of another coin.

¹ The word ‘strelitz’ means an archer.

Count Pouschkin showed us one of Sophia, with her two brothers on the reverse, made in this manner, and presented by her to her favourite Laponkin.

“ The bows anciently carried by the Strelitzes were changed to matchlocks by Ivan the Second, and to musquets by Alexis. In his time they were chiefly commanded by German and Scotch officers, some of whom, according to Olearius, were much persecuted on account of their religion.

“ The Churches of the Assumption and St. Michael, and the greater part of the Kremlin, were also built by Solarius the Milanese architect. In the Church of the Assumption are many of the czars buried, all in plain stone coffins covered with tapestry. Vladimir's tomb is honoured with the kisses of the people. St. Michael's Church is, within, almost entirely encrusted with silver plates, and surrounded by coffins of the patriarchs, similar to those of the emperors. Both are prodigiously lofty and very dark ; their outsides are covered with gilding and immense pictures of saints, in fresco. The style of architecture is evidently an adaptation of the Grecian orders to the old Tartar proportions ; but these, as well as every ancient Church in Russia, have had a distant reference to St. Sophia at Consantinople.

“ The library of the synod contains some valuable manuscripts, a copy of the four evangelists, brought from Mount Athos by Nikon the patriarch, as well as a robe sent by one of the Constantinopolitan emperors, to the patriarch Joseph, which has the Nicene creed embroidered on it in pearls. Potemkin is accused by popular rumour of having embezzled great part of the riches in the Kremlin. (I must not forget that, on procession days, the patriarch's horse was shod with silver.)

“ The present imperial apartments are small, and only inhabited during coronations. The Emperor, when at Moscow, is usually at his palace in the German Sloboda, formerly the house of the Count Besborodko ; it is a large wooden building, containing a neat Chapel, some good rooms, and bad paintings. A few common Russians were copying them with great diligence and even genius.



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These men, we were told, were employed to finish some of the Churches. Near this palace is the military hospital, a very large and magnificent building, clean and well kept. The number of patients was not very great; most of their disorders were rheumatic, or proceeded from general debility and over labour. In the dissecting-room we saw the body of a man recently brought in, who had died of suffocation on a stove which had been closed too soon; he was a stranger, and without a passport, and was therefore sent here for the use of the surgeons; his breast was much distended, the blood fixed in his face, and the whole figure very horrible.

“ The foundling-hospital is near the river, at the east corner of the Kitai-gorod; it is a very high and large white building, built round a court, having one great wing adorned with three domes, and surrounded by a semicircle of smaller buildings, the gift of one of the Dimidofs; it has a very fine play-ground for the boys, and another for the girls, besides a large garden. The building is divided into small wards, all warm and well ventilated with air tubes. On the ground-floor is a small reception room, with a font for baptizing such children as are brought in without the little cross hung round the neck, the necessary sign of a Greek Christian. The day-rooms are all on one story, and the bed-rooms above. On the first floor is a room furnished with couches for such mothers as require only rest; and several other rooms are fitted up, as a lying-in hospital, with great elegance and simplicity by the empress-mother, who has given largely to the fund. No charitable institution is indeed overlooked by her, and she keeps up a constant correspondence with the old grand chamberlain, Gallitzin, on benevolent schemes and institutions. The number of children regularly maintained in the house is about six hundred, two hundred and fifty boys and three hundred and fifty girls. The number received between the months of January, 1805 and 1806, was 2960. Every month, such of the children as have been vaccinated are sent with their nurses into the country, where they remain till they are five years old; they are then taken back into the house as fast as there are vacancies, where they are educated till they are eighteen, and

are then dismissed with thirty rubles and two suits of clothes ; the numbers thus sent into the country average about one hundred and thirty. Before the introduction of vaccination, the mortality was much greater among them than it is at present, although they were inoculated for the small-pox. Such children as have one hundred rubles sent with them are called pensioners ; they are better clothed and instructed than the rest, and are never sent into the country ; their number generally averages from twenty to thirty in the course of the year ; at present there are seventy : the mortality among them is greater than among such as go into the country.

“ The appearance of the children is pale and sickly, but they are kept very clean : their food is good, but they are allowed no milk for breakfast : those of four or five years old, after eating, lie down for an hour on a sort of platform or inclined plane covered with cushions. They are all taught to read and write, as well as to speak German, which however they most of them do very imperfectly ; the boys when little are employed in knitting stockings : those that are intended for the medical line are taught Latin ; and such as show capacity are sent to study physic in foreign universities ; there are two now at Strasburg ; the others are chiefly brought up as shoemakers and tailors. The girls are taught to embroider, &c. and some of them are educated as midwives and nurses. The number of nurses in the house is about four hundred ; they receive high wages, sometimes, under particular circumstances, as much as a ruble daily ; their number in the country I did not ascertain ; they each receive fifteen rubles annually ; almost all the nurses and officers of the establishment are Germans.

“ The mode of reception is very simple ; the child is taken without any questions being asked, and immediately baptized, unless it has its cross about its neck. Women may come for their delivery and leave their children, after staying a sufficient time for their own recovery. This is an addition of the Empress mother's, who has herself sent the plans for the beds, &c. ; every thing is kept scrupulously clean and neat. The expenses of the establishment amount altogether



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to 138,000 rubles annually; the children's work, after the cost of teaching and materials is deducted, produces 1900 rubles a year; the annual expense of each child is computed at 150 rubles.

"The hospital of Prince Gallitzin is a fine building, about three versts from the town, built in the form of a crescent, with a small circular Chapel in the centre, of which the choir is very famous. A little to the right is the convent of Donskoy, where Ambrose, the late archbishop of Moscow lost his life; he was torn to pieces by the people for having removed an image to which they crowded in great numbers during the plague, and which consequently spread the infection wider; this happened during Catherine's reign. There is also another fine hospital now building at the expense of the family of Sheremetof. Count Sheremetof is the richest subject in Russia; his income is stated to amount to 800,000 rubles annually, and the number of his peasants is above 100,000. He has some magnificent houses near Moscow, one of which named Aslarkina we went to see, but it contained nothing very interesting.

"The theatres all over Russia pay a per centage on the profits of each night's representation to the foundling-hospital; that at Moscow was managed by an Englishman named Mattocks; it was burnt down two years since by a fire which originated during the rehearsal of the *Rosalie*; it consisted of an immense rotunda, a theatre, and a ball-room. The assembly-room of the nobles' club is very magnificent,—like that of York on a scale of perhaps three times its size. The university contains about 400 students, a good mineralogical collection given by M. Dimidof, and a sorry cabinet of stuffed birds and beasts bought by the emperor for 30,000 rubles from the executors of a Polish countess.

"The college for foreign affairs is an old palace where the archives are kept; the upper part of the building is thrown into a succession of public offices, where a number of lads are employed copying and reading a vast multitude of papers, the nature of which I could never exactly ascertain. So much is done by writing in this country that there is, probably, always sufficient employment for them. The young men of good families are sent

here as to a school ; whence the cleverest and those who have most influence, are sent off to the college of foreign affairs at Petersburg, and thence again transplanted to the trains of foreign embassies, or employed as messengers. Their number is enormous, it being necessary for every gentleman to have some civil or military rank. At present, indeed, there is a new method of acquiring rank ; persons who have not served either in a civil or military rank may, for 1200 rubles, purchase a cross of Malta, but this is considered as no very proud distinction. Young V * * * had such a cross, and at Kostroma we met a young man with a similar one. The college of foreign affairs itself contains the well known letters which passed between Ivan and our Elizabeth on the subject of his intended marriage with Lady Anne Hastings ; several treaties and messages between the different sovereigns of Russia and England ; the famous treaty between Russia and China, by which Russia abandoned so much territory ; the order of the garter sent by Charles the Second to the minister Narischkin ; some correspondence of an angry nature between Peter the Great and George the First, and many Persian and Asiatic treaties. The Russians show with great eagerness the deed in which the emperor Maximilian acknowledges the sovereign of Muscovy as emperor.

“ The police of Moscow is very good, and the prison in excellent order ; it is a stone building, on a very convenient plan, consisting of four wings with a Chapel in the centre. The number of prisoners I do not remember ; most of them were runaway slaves. One well-dressed man was imprisoned for forgery ; and three young men in uniform, with their father, a venerable peasant of sixty or seventy years old with a long beard, were just found guilty of issuing false government notes ; their punishment awaited the emperor’s decision. Banishment to Siberia was expected to be the sentence.

“ After we left Moscow a remarkable inundation took place in the month of April, when, owing to the sudden melting of the snow, the river rose to an unparalleled height, and entirely inundated the Zämlenöy Gorod (the town on the right bank.) Great



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damage was done, but no lives were lost. A similar accident had never been remembered ; the banks of the river are very high, and the quays are at least thirty feet above the ordinary level of the water.

“ During the carnival the river, which was then frozen, became a crowded street, covered with booths, ice-hills, and whirling-gigs. A short time before we had seen a very different ceremony, the blessing of the waters ; it was attended by an enormous crowd of people, but there were few troops, and but little of the splendour which we hear of on similar occasions at Petersburg. The sight, however, of near two hundred thousand people, disposed in a sort of natural amphitheatre formed by the banks of the river, and all in the act of worshipping, could not fail to be very striking ; and in this point Moscow would have the advantage. The ceremonies are not long ; they are described by King ; the intention is to represent the baptism in the river Jordan.

“ The Russian Church-singing is plaintive and very beautiful ; nothing is so striking as the repetition of *Gospodi pomillui* (Lord have mercy upon us.) There are particular Churches at Moscow which are famous for their music, and are crowded by the idle and the dissipated as places of amusement. The Chapel of Gallitzin's hospital is one, and the church of Nicetas the martyr another of these favourite places of resort.

“ We were unlucky enough to miss repeated opportunities of seeing great funerals. The body, as we understood, is dressed in its best clothes, with the face painted, and laid on an open bier. After the burial service is read, the relations advance one by one, and kiss the cold cheek as a last farewell. The Russians are said to regard death with great superstitious horror. I never myself saw any particular instances of it. Mr. Carr pretends that they cannot endure the sight of any picture representing death ; this is ridiculous, as their Churches are full of martyrdoms, and their houses of battle-pieces ; to say nothing of the dead Christs and descents from the cross, which often fill the corners of their rooms. In one of the corners a saint or a religious picture is always hung,

and in religious families a lamp is kept constantly burning before it. The manner of worshipping, whether at Church or at home, is by bending the body very low, sometimes touching the ground with the fingers in token of humility, crossing the head, breast, and shoulders with the three fingers joined, and sometimes even striking the head against the ground. * * *

“ The vast population of Moscow is apparently supported by very few manufactories ; there is one considerable one of silk opposite the house of M. Dimidof ; a great want of machinery is visible here as well as every where in Russia ; some of the most simple inventions are unknown, such as the shuttle which enables one man to weave the widest web. A prodigious quantity of silk is worn in the country ; all the women of the lower and middling classes wear silk handkerchiefs ; the richer among them have silk gowns, and their heads are covered with silk handkerchiefs richly embroidered with gold. The finery of these damsels, their excessive quantity of paint, and their bad black teeth are very remarkable at a holiday time. In all manufactories and all in-doors’ employment the Russian peasant wears nothing but his shirt and drawers ; the former is generally dyed red and embroidered with blue under the arms ; it is made round and full like a tunic, and hangs over the drawers almost to the knee.”

To Richard Heber, Esq.

Moscow, Feb. 24, 1806.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ We are still in this place in expectation of our final directions from home. * * * My Mother’s and Mr. Thornton’s letters were received by us on the same day, and entirely knocked on the head one of the rarest tours, journeys, or pilgrimages that have been made since the time of Lithgow. Being at our wit’s end at not receiving instructions sooner, we had determined to take a course which would fall in with our grand object of penetrating to Constantinople, and would, at the same



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time, leave us at full liberty to vary our plans according to circumstances. It was, to set off immediately for Casan, a place interesting on every account, and as yet unvisited by any English traveller; from thence to follow the stream of the Volga, by Simbirsk and Saratof to Astracan, to pass the steppe or great desert to Tcherkask and the Don Cossaks, to make the tour of the Crimea to Odessa, and thence either return by Kiof or Poland, or proceed to Constantinople, as your letters might direct. Our letters were all ready, and our baggage packed up for this journey, of which the distance was the only inconvenience, and this we were inclined to think was counterbalanced by its numerous advantages. It would have led us through all the most interesting provinces of Russia, the seat of their greatest population and commerce, and all their antiquities, as well as those of their ancient Tartar masters, from whom the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan were wrested so lately as by Ivan the Second. At Casan it was our intention to have passed the carnival; and the introductions with which we were very amply furnished, would have brought us acquainted with all the ancient Russ families, who are very numerous in that province, and pass their lives in the real national manner; never seeing Petersburg and very seldom even Moscow, the place of which is supplied by Casan, a town on the true eastern scale in extent and population. It was besides no small inducement that we should pass the principal Mongul, Tartar, and Calmuck hordes, and see the Cossaks living in their own villages, and under their own military republic. I believe, likewise, the very prospect of seeing again an oak tree, for which the banks of the Volga and the Asiatic provinces are famous, had no little influence.

“As, however, our friends’ letters evidently gave us to understand that they did not approve of our getting very far out of their knowledge, we have entirely given up the *εποικον ἁγίας Ασίας πεδον*, and even Constantinople itself, with all the temptations of Athens and Corinth, comforting ourselves with the old proverb, ‘*non cuivis homini contingit.*’ Instead of this we are setting our faces homewards, and intend to go by Kiof, the Ukraine, and

Moravia to Vienna, and thence through Bohemia and Dresden to Berlin. This course we are induced to take, from the information we have had from Mr. Stuart¹, the secretary of legation at Petersburg, who is now here, on his return from Presburg and Buda, through Hungary. He says the French have evacuated Germany, that Sir Arthur Paget is returned to Vienna, and that an Englishman may go through any part of the country with perfect security. Under these circumstances, the accuracy and certainty of which it is impossible to doubt, it would be almost a crime to lose the opportunity of obtaining the information which may be derived from seeing a country recovering from the effects of so terrible an invasion, especially as we shall really lose so little time by the detour. In particular you may assure my mother, that though there is misery enough, there are no banditti; and that an Austrian is more inclined to beg than fight. If, however, your letters should express a wish for us to return immediately, we shall abandon this scheme and every other with equal readiness. The thoughts of seeing home, and the wish to make our friends easy, will either of them be sufficient to make even the sands of Prussia an agreeable journey. In the mean time, we fag at German and pass our evenings in a round of amusements almost to satiety. Amusement is, indeed, the great business of Moscow, and to do them justice, *'on s'amuse parfaitement bien.'*

"In my last letter I said something disrespectful of the beauty of the Moscow ladies, which, now that I have got more into their society, I must contradict; it is the only place since I left England where I have met with a really interesting female society, and at the assemblies of the nobles we see many faces that might be supposed to belong to Lancashire or Cheshire. Of their hospitality you may judge, when I say that I have only dined once at home since our arrival, and then we had an invitation which we declined. Of instruction to be acquired at Moscow, I can give but a moderate account; there are very few people who think at

¹ Now Lord Stuart de Rothsay.—Ed.



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all, and of these few many think amiss. To Maffai, the librarian of the sacred synod, we have been promised introductions, but his health is so infirm that he can rarely see strangers. We have, however, made one distinguished literary acquaintance in the person of the Archbishop Plato, with whom we passed a day at his convent at Troitza, about forty miles from Moscow. We found him a fine cheerful old man, with a white beard floating over his breast. He asked us many questions about Porson, and on finding we knew him, showed us his Greek books, which were not very numerous, and consisting entirely of the Fathers; he made us construe a page of St. Chrysostom's litany, which put us into his good graces, and he insisted on our dining and passing the day with him. He speaks tolerable French and Latin, but Greek more readily than either. We had a long and very interesting conversation with him on the history and internal state of Russia; he expressed great horror of popery, and said the English government had done a very wicked thing in tolerating it. This was, however, quite in a different tone from his general sentiments, which were candid and tolerant. He coincided very much, both in appearance and manner with our ideas of a primitive bishop; and unfortunately his circumstances seemed primitive too. The house, and the dinner were those of a poor man, and I often thought of Whitaker's 'Father Tempest.' The Greek priests indeed, though clothed in purple and fine linen, are far from faring sumptuously; their lands are secularized, they have no tithes, and their allowances are very small. In point of education they are improving fast, as public schools are pretty generally established, partly by the crown, and partly by private benefactions. The munificent benevolence of the Russians is indeed very great; we have found every where charitable institutions founded by private persons, as well as new Churches on a magnificent scale. One old gentleman whom we know personally, a M. Dimidof, has during his lifetime given away upwards of half-a-million of rubles, about 76,000*l.* to different institutions.

“ Our visit to Plato was made during a fortnight's tour to the east, which we took instead of our great Casan and Astrachan

journey, and from which, though our furthest point was not above three hundred versts, we have derived great pleasure and instruction, as our route lay through a very wealthy and important district, little known to travellers. Mr. Harris¹, Lord Mahmsbury's son, was the only traveller whom motives of curiosity had drawn there before us; and we went one hundred versts further than he had done, following the Volga through Pereslav, Yaroslav, and Kostroma. Pereslav is chiefly remarkable for its antiquity, and as being built on the lake on which Peter the Great, when very young, first launched a boat. Yaroslav is a large and ancient city, about a third part of the size of Moscow, in a noble situation on the Volga, which even here, though above a thousand miles from the sea, is as wide as the Thames at Blackfriars. It has some considerable linen manufactures, and the population of the province is, for Russia, very great, being at the rate of about one hundred and twenty to a square English mile. The peasants and burghers still preserve their ancient dress and manners, and the costumes of Yaroslav and Kostroma are precisely the same as when the patriarch Theodore concealed his infant son (afterwards the Emperor Michael) in the convent of the latter place, which, except its convents and a mosque, has little that is remarkable. The population of the country is here blended with the Tartars and other Mahomedans; and we found, among various marks of our progress eastward, the commencement of the oak timber, which thrives only in these rich provinces, and is rarely found in the hungry sand to the westward. Among many other novelties and amusements, we had a wolf-hunt on the frozen Volga; and at Kostroma, which was the limit of our journey, we were entertained for two days in the ancient Russ style by a rich merchant, an old man, with a long gown and white beard, so exactly like the hermit at Hawkstone, that I was almost afraid to look him in the face. Every thing here was eastern; his two daughters had, we were told, according to

¹ The late Hon. and Rev. Alfred Harris.—Ed.

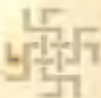


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custom, been shut up from the age of twelve, when they are considered marriageable, from all eyes till the day of marriage, when they are produced to the bridegroom, with their cheeks painted red, their teeth blackened, their eye-brows shaved, and a tire two feet high, all of pearls, on their heads. Of these dresses I saw several, and they are the most costly deformities I ever beheld. We were not at all surprised to find in this good man's house some excellent sweet wine, made of cranberries; but I was a little at seeing some very good tokay and champagne, which he forced upon us most plentifully. His good beds and clean house were great treats to us, as the wretchedness of our ordinary lodgings could scarcely be conceived by an Englishman, any more than the cold we felt during our journey. With a pair of pantaloons and overalls, two pair of worsted stockings, a pair of socks, and boots lined with fur, our feet were still cold; and we were glad to warm ourselves in the post-houses, which were certainly hot enough in all conscience. We were, however, so well clothed and fed, that we have escaped without either colds or rheumatism; and after having been well bumped on some four hundred miles of the worst roads in the world, and having been well received in some of the pleasantest parties we have seen in Russia, (in particular at Prince Gallitzin's, the governor of Yaroslav,) we returned safe and well for the amusements and splendour of the carnival. We found the houses on the road all on the same plan, much inferior to those between Moscow and Petersburg. The inns are distinguished by a very large open stable, which admits the horses and carts of travellers and warriors; it is called *serai*, and when applied to the lodgement of a numerous body of merchants, becomes the well-known compound, *caravan-serai*.

“ Your sincerely affectionate

“ REGINALD HEBER.”



FROM MOSCOW TO KOSTROMA.

" *February 4th, 1806.*—Left Moscow for this journey; the road lies by a magnificent hospital just within the gates of Moscow, built at the expence of the Sheremetof family; it is in the form of a semi-circle, with a semi-circular projecting portico in the centre. I could not learn any thing of the nature of its institution, except that it is intended for charitable purposes; indeed it is yet unfinished. We passed under the admiralty, a building so called, where recruits for the sea-service are mustered, contracts made for timber and stores, and other business done which has relation to the navy. It is a high brick tower built over a gateway, with a large eagle on the top, diminishing as it ascends so as to have much the air of a pagoda. The building is ancient, and originated in the whim of a private Russ merchant who built it as a warehouse. The country immediately without the barrier is rather better wooded than Russian landscapes generally are, having many lime trees, whose shade is more massive than the birch, and less formal than the fir. At about three versts on the right-hand side is an unfinished aqueduct carried on arches across a small valley; though of the simplest construction and only of whitewashed brick, it has a very pleasing effect; it is intended to continue it to the city. A house of Count Sheremetof, Rostankina, is a conspicuous object on the left hand, distant from Moscow about five versts; it is very much admired by the Moscovites, but has not much merit to boast of, being a slight building of wood; a fine old brick Church stands close to it. The house contains one very elegant saloon on the ground-floor, being a lofty dome-roofed quadrangle, with small circular recesses round it, filled with statues; one of these is entirely lined with marble, and has a large vase in the centre supported by three female figures as large as life; though the workmanship is not extraordinary the effect is pleasing. In another of the recesses are two small statues repre-



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senting Catherine in a sitting posture, and Potemkin, as an ancient warrior, presenting her the crescent ; the rest of the ground-floor is in arcades, very cool and pleasant in summer, and furnished with some taste, though much too gaudily, which is, indeed, the fault of the whole building. Above are a private theatre, and several good rooms, but furnished in a more gaudy style than those below, with some of the worst pictures I ever saw, the handy-work of a slave in the family ; they are enclosed in gilt frames of half a ton each, particularly one of Paul in his uniform, which covers the whole side of a room. In the grand dome-roofed hall, which is lighted from the top, is a statue of Hygeia, the trunk of which is an antique found at Athens, and the legs, arms and head modern ; and a statue of Catherine, remarkable for that false kind of dignity which distinguishes modern from ancient works of art ; it has, however, merit in several respects. Catherine's manner of dressing her hair in a prodigiously high toupee is very ungraceful when it thus 'takes immortal buckle.' In the last room we saw, a little place which serves as antichamber to the room where some models and china are exhibited, is a good picture of some beggars and an ass.

" The proprietor of this and many other similar houses, Count Sheremetof, is reputed the richest subject in Russia, though his circumstances are now a good deal embarrassed ; his number of peasants is 120,000, all at very moderate rents, though some are exceedingly rich ; one man was mentioned to us who had purchased his liberty for 30,000 rubles, and there are many others who have bid almost equal sums. Several of these peasants themselves possess two or three hundred slaves under the name of their master. There is one village near Yaroslav which is famous for the wealth of its inhabitants. In general the peasants of very great lords who, it is known, will not raise their rent, become as industrious and acquire as much taste for luxuries as any other people ; so false is that proposition which we have often heard maintained, that the peasants if indulged become only more indolent and miserable.

" Count Sheremetof derives a considerable part of his property

from the rent of houses in Petersburg, which contain one or more families on each floor, being inhabited mostly by the lower classes; one of these houses was pointed out to us as containing many hundred souls. His income in rubles is about 800,000, and might, possibly, be greatly augmented.

“ This description of Count Sheremetof’s country-house will not answer to the general abodes of Russian gentlemen. Rural magnificence, the ancient hall or castle, or even a respectable country-seat is what they have no idea of. Their villas are generally small low buildings of wood, of seldom more than one story, consisting of four or five rooms passing one out of the other, and always beginning with the room where they dine; the bedroom of the master and mistress, which is also used as a sitting-room, and for receiving company, concludes the suite. These apartments occupy the front of the house; behind are the kitchen and some dirty holes, where the servants and the other members of the family sleep. Visitors are accommodated with temporary beds, contrived on the floor or sofa of the drawing-room. A Russian sleeps with but one sheet; over him he has only a single coverlid, and seldom takes off any clothes but his shoes and coat; the women sleep in night-gowns; an English lady at Moscow was taxed with great indecency because she undressed at night. They generally rise early and are dressed in a few minutes; a servant pours a little water on their hands, they wash their own faces, and their toilet is soon finished. They sometimes take a single cup of tea, but never any thing more before noon; an English breakfast is, I believe, unknown on the continent. At Moscow we were sometimes invited to breakfast *à l’Anglais*; but always found that they imagined an English breakfast was a meal on beefsteaks and champagne. The cold collation and liqueurs which they take before dinner, are called *le dejeuner*, as well as *la challe*, and few people eat any thing sooner. These customs they have in common with the Swedes, Danes, Germans, and, I believe, the French.

“ The country from Moscow to Troitza, a distance of about



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sixty versts, continues to be prettily enough diversified with woods and small valleys. Troitza is a small town chiefly remarkable for its large convent, an immense building of brick surrounded by a brick wall machicolated and furnished with loop holes, and flanked by high circular towers also of brick. It was founded, I believe, some years before Boris Godunof. During the invasion of the Poles, it was besieged at the same time with Moscow, but unsuccessfully; it was then the repository of a great part of Godunof's treasure. At present it contains three Churches, one of them very wealthy in gold, jewels, and reliques, worth perhaps 30,000 rubles, several small Chapels, a convent containing forty or fifty monks, and a school for the sons of the clergy, in which about four hundred young people are educated for orders. They learn Latin and Greek, and the cleverest among them are also taught German and French. Having, however, no great stimulus to their ambition, and no other prospect before them than a scanty and miserable pittance for life, as the only reward of their studies, few of them are very diligent. Paul formed a regiment of ten battalions from these sons of the clergy throughout the empire; and Plato, the archbishop, confessed to us, that from the idleness and poverty of most of the young men, it was as good a use as they could be put to. The monks of Troitza, as well as of all the other convents in Russia, had their lands and peasants very much curtailed by Peter the First, and entirely taken away by Catherine. The convent of Befania (Bethany), where Plato lives, formerly possessed 100,000 peasants; at present the monks receive pensions of from fifty to a hundred rubles a head; a sum barely sufficient for their maintenance. Those convents which have schools attached to them, have allowances of servants, firing, and repairs also from the crown; that of Befania receives about 10,000 rubles altogether. A Russian monk is never allowed to eat flesh, and their days of total abstinence are very frequent; but in other respects their rules are not rigid, nor are they very strictly observed; the archbishop himself has set the example of great laxness in these particulars. The dress of a monk is a long black cassock and a loose gown with wide sleeves, like the

undress gown of a nobleman at Oxford ; this is generally made of cloth, though the higher orders have it of silk, with the addition of a golden cross round the neck ; the head is covered with a high felt cap like those of the eastern dervises, ornamented with a loose veil of black stuff. The bishops and archbishops have their garments of green, purple, or violet ; their veils are white, marked with a red or black cross. These, as well as the archimandrites, and other high members of the Church, are all monks ; the secular clergy can never hope to rise above the rank of parish priest, unless by first taking the vows, which, indeed, he generally does if he happens to lose his wife ; it is well known that a Russian parish priest must be strictly ‘ husband of one wife.’ Clerks and sextons, ‘ Panomiri’ and ‘ Ditchok,’ are considered as ecclesiastical persons, and promoted to the rank of deacons, and so on to priests, &c.

“ In the year 1796 the clergy, monastic and secular, were computed at 68,000 souls ; with their wives and children, 200,000. In the diocese of Moscow are 1500 priests and 6500 inferior ecclesiastics ; and 2000 sons of priests are educating for holy orders in several convents and other seminaries. In the towns the priests have no other maintenance than what the bounty of their congregations affords them, except the fees on baptisms, burials, &c. ; yet some of them get a comfortable subsistence in this way ; a few as much as 1000 rubles a year ; but such instances are probably very rare ; we only heard of one on which we could quite rely. Many live by begging for the shrines and tombs of particular saints ; and women are employed in almost every village to solicit the charity of travellers towards the maintenance of some Church or Chapel. They present a plate covered with a white cloth marked with a red cross, and beg, as the Russians generally do, with great humility and modesty. The village priests have a certain glebe which the landowner is obliged to furnish ; and, by a ukase of Paul, he was also obliged to assist the priest in the culture of his land with a few peasants, when it was necessary. Alexander has, however, repealed this law, of which Plato heavily complained, saying that the nobles, who did nothing at all either for themselves or the state,



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were not content to half-starve the clergy, but made them, in addition to their parochial duties, labour the ground with their own hands ; he said he had remonstrated with the emperor, but in vain. Pecuniary compositions often supply the place of glebe lands ; tithes were never known in Russia. The ignorance and despised state of the Russian clergy, of which we had heard so much, we found to be partly, but not entirely true ; the schools which are now established for the education of their sons, have in a great measure removed the former reproach. We met at Troitza one monk of very superior manners, with the appearance and deportment of a person of genius, who spoke good French, and said he had travelled. Plato himself, and perhaps most of the higher orders, are also well bred, and well-educated men ; they are, however, as monks, shut up for the greater part of their lives in convents. We have also found the secular clergy, generally speaking, not entirely ignorant of Latin, though but few could converse in it fluently. They fill very nearly the same rank in society that is held by the Roman Catholic priests ; and, like them, have much influence among the middle and lower classes, with whom they entirely associate. In the remoter provinces they seem more respected, and fill a higher rank in society than in Petersburg and Moscow. At Sebastopol we met the priest, his wife, and daughter (neither of them very unlike what a country clergyman's wife and daughter might be in any country,) at a tea party of captain Messer's, who was one of the principal persons in the place ; and in Kamstchatka we find, in Cook's voyages, the priest of Paratenska one of the principal members of the colony. In the more elevated societies of the capital, they never enter the house, unless they are professionally wanted ; in which case people send for them as they would for any mechanic. In the more religious houses they come regularly to say mattins, which ought to be said at four in the morning, but which generally takes place over-night, the priest coming about eight or nine in the evening, to repeat the prayers for the next day. The garments of a secular priest resemble those of a monk, but are of any colour he pleases ; and instead of the

high felt cap, he wears the usual hat, or fur bonnet. All ecclesiastics wear their beard and hair long, and sometimes curled and frizzled very absurdly.

“ King’s ‘ Rites of the Greek Church ’ is a work, according to Plato, not to be depended on ; he had excellent opportunities for information, but was obstinate and attached to his own system. Plato said ‘ he would not use us fairly ; he would not believe us when we gave an account of our own faith.’ King had hoped to gain the empress Catherine’s favour by his work, and affected to go often to court. She at last sent him word that ‘ the Greek Church needed not the apology of a stranger.’

“ On the 5th of February we hired a sanky to pay Plato a visit, for whom we had an introduction from prince Feodore Nicolaïtch Gallitzin. The distance from Befania to Troitza is about three versts through a very beautiful country. We observed many tracks of wolves in the fields we passed through, yet the peasant said they were not particularly numerous ; bears there were none. Befania stands amid some fine lime trees on the brink of a steep hill with a very pleasing view ; adjoining it is a building raised by Paul as an academy for the sons of the clergy. The number of monks at Befania and Troitza, for both form a joint establishment, is about sixty ; the number of students above three hundred ; the income appropriated to their support is now reduced from, at least, 500,000 rubles a year to 10,000. Plato himself has an annual income of 8000 rubles. He occupies a small suite of rooms which forms one side of the quadrangle ; it consists of a little study, a sitting-room, and a room where he dines, which also serves as his bed-room, his bed being placed behind a screen in the corner. Four or five dirty fellows like college-scouts, dressed in green coats, as being furnished to the convent by government, composed his sole establishment. A very neat Chapel forms the termination to his apartments. In this he made us remark that no sculpture or relief was allowed, except on one piece of plate, in which he said he had complied with the prejudices of the Russians, who had, in this respect, departed from the rules of the



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Greek Church. On the mass-book, which was open, was laid the letter of orders of the priest who generally officiated.

“ In the same book was a bit of what seemed to be asbestos, which appeared to be a relic ; the archbishop evidently did not wish us to see or touch it, and changed the subject hastily. The Chapel of the convent, a whimsical brick building, which, without, looks like a red band-box, stands in the centre of the quadrangle, and is built according to a plan given by the archbishop himself. Within it is of a very singular construction ; the west end, which is semicircular, is adorned with the representation of a rock, which is ascended by narrow winding stairs with a rustic rail, and painted shrubs and rocks, about half the height of the Chapel ; on the top of this is a small tabernacle containing the Altar, with sufficient space for the Greek ceremonies. Within this tabernacle and on the Altar, the archbishop showed us a little cabinet ornamented with some Scripture histories in enamel, which formerly belonged to Louis the Sixteenth, and was presented to Plato by the present king of France. The common people of Russia, he told us, generally thought that Buonaparte had sent it to him. The space beneath the rock is occupied by a small Chapel, furnished with a stove for winter devotion ; and on the right hand is a little narrow cell containing two coffins, one of which is empty and destined for the present archbishop ; the other contains the bones of the founder of the monastery, who is regarded as a saint. The oak coffin was almost bit to pieces by different persons afflicted with the tooth-ache, for which a rub on this board is considered a specific. Plato laughed as he told us this, but said, ‘ As they do it *de bon cœur*, I would not undeceive them.’ This prelate has been long very famous in Russia as a man of ability. His piety has been questioned, but from his conversation we drew a very favourable opinion of him. Some of his expressions would have rather surprised a very strict religionist, but the frankness and openness of his manners, and the liberality of his sentiments pleased us highly. His frankness on subjects of politics was remarkable. The clergy throughout Russia, are, I believe, inimical to their government ;

they are more connected with the peasants than most other classes of men, and are strongly interested in their sufferings and oppressions, to many of which they themselves are likewise exposed. They marry very much among the daughters and sisters of their own order, and form almost a caste. I think Buonaparte is rather popular among them. Plato seemed to contemplate his success as an inevitable and not very alarming prospect. He refused to draw up a form of prayer for the success of the Russian arms: 'if,' said he, 'they be really penitent and contrite, let them shut up their public places of amusement for a month, and I will then celebrate public prayers.' His expressions of dislike to the nobles and wealthy classes were strong and singular, as well as the manner in which he described the power of an emperor of Russia, the dangers which surround him, and the improbability of any rapid improvement. 'It would be much better,' said he, 'had we a constitution like that of England.' Yet I suspect he does not wish particularly well to us in our war with France. He is a man of sixty-nine years of age, with a good open countenance and remarkably fine teeth; his hair and beard are very white and thick; his eyes light blue and very sparkling and lively; his manners simple, frank, and friendly; and his conversation that of a man of much general and classical reading. The room in which he was sitting was decorated with several bad pictures, and little religious ornaments and rarities, the greater part of them, apparently, presents from people of the lower orders, which proved his good nature, with a little mixture of an old man's vanity. Of his history we learned but little. He had been once in great favour with Catherine, whose confessor he was, but had afterwards been sent away from court where he was religious instructor to the grand dukes Alexander and Constantine. His brother was, with many other young men intended for orders, sent over to England and was educated at Oxford; an experiment which has not, apparently, answered; he is only a secular priest, so that he has had no opportunity of rising. We heard great praises of Plato's homilies, which the empress caused to be read on particular occasions in all Churches. He was the first person who introduced a habit of preaching into the Russ Churches, though



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even now they do not preach regularly except in Cathedral Churches; the sermons are always read. Plato's catechism for the grand dukes is famous for its liberality, but his celebrated coronation sermon is but a poor composition; the text is very curious, being "And the Almighty permitted us to see our emperor crowned." I certainly do not know from what chapter it is taken. He has lately published a Church history which is said to be only calculated for the Russians¹.

"About the period of the French revolution, Plato was instrumental, we were told, in forming at Moscow a society called the Christian free-masons, on a very wide and extended plan, by which all sects of Christians were allowed to become members. Their meetings were secret; large subscriptions were raised, and vast quantities of books purchased for what was called the use of the society; their numbers were very great. We did not learn much about this association, but I could not help being struck with the resemblance between this and the Weishauphian scheme in Bavaria. I am, however, inclined to judge favourably of Plato's intentions. The times and circumstances rendered all such bodies so obnoxious that no one can wonder that this was soon suppressed by the government. It perhaps contributed to Plato's disgrace.

"On leaving Plato we found, at the first post-house, the use of a circular letter given us by the governor of Moscow, in keeping the postilions in order. The country through which we travelled was remarkable for the number of large Churches and convents.

"*Feb. 6th.*—Towards evening we arrived at Rostof, a considerable and well-built town, with a Cathedral and some fine monasteries; there are several good houses in the town, and one eating-house, but no place where a bed can be conveniently got. We had letters of introduction to Madame Vassilchikof, and went to call on her; she is a woman whose history is singular; daughter of prince Razamofsky, the last hetman of the Cossaks, she was married very young, against her consent, to general Vassilchikof; the mar-

¹ This work has since been translated into English from the Slavonian, by Dr. Robert Pinkerton, and printed at Edinburgh, anno 1814.—Ed.

riage was, of course, an unhappy one. * * * *

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* * * * She had several children, one of whom is married to Count Kotchubëy, the present minister for the interior. At length, at the age of forty-five, she left her family, retired from the world, and professed herself a nun. She now lives as a novice in a convent at Rostof, as by the Russian law she cannot take the vows before fifty. Her husband has often begged her to return to him, but she refuses; her conduct is by some attributed to madness, by others to penitence. We found her at tea with her father confessor, and the archimandrite of the neighbouring convent of St. Dmitri (Demetrius) a fine building, erected at the expence of the Sheremetof family. The dress of a nun differs little from that of a monk; their rule is not very strict, and they are allowed to receive and pay visits.

“*Feb. 7th.*—Late at night we arrived at Yaroslav, and with much difficulty procured a lodging in a wretched carrier’s inn, where we slept on the ground amid every species of misery and annoyance. In the morning we found an ordinary where we got some tea, and afterwards succeeded in hiring a miserable lodging at two rubles a night. Yaroslav is a large and ancient town, and one of the most famous in Russian history; the coins of Yaroslav, its founder, the grandson of Ruric, having on one side, his head, and on the reverse a horseman with the motto *ὁ ἅγιος Γεωργιος*, we saw in Count Pouschkin’s collection at Moscow. They are very scarce, and evidently of Grecian workmanship, Russia being at that time too barbarous for such a production. Yaroslav was besieged and taken by the Tartars under Baty Khan; its suzerains were frequently independent of the Veliki Knœs, whose authority was very imperfectly recognized till the time of Ivan the First. The town still preserves the marks of ancient grandeur in the remaining ruins of its high walls with many brick towers, and several very ancient Churches. It is the residence of an archbishop, to whom I was introduced, and may contain about 20,000 inhabitants; the space of ground it occupies is very disproportionate to its real dimensions, being built with immensely wide

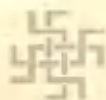


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streets and many vacant spaces. There are two very large squares, one of which, the market-place, is surrounded with arcades, and was when we saw it, filled by a vast crowd of people, as a Russian market-place generally is, even in the least populous parts of the country; in the other are some handsome government buildings, which were begun by Paul, but never completed on account of the expense. The town stands on the point where the river Kotroso falls into the Volga, which, notwithstanding its vast distance from the sea, is here a magnificent river, broader than the Thames at Chelsea. There are some very considerable manufactories in it, one of silk, and two large ones of linen, particularly of Russia duck¹ and table cloths. The principal one belonging to Mr. Jacoffeff, consists of a large square of low white buildings, adorned with walks bordered with rows of willows. There is also a handsome Church in the Dutch style, which the common people object to, as not being conformed to the ancient models of the country.

“Mr. Jacoffeff carries on a very great commerce with England; in this and his adjoining paper fabric, he employs three thousand hands, but we could not learn to whom the majority of the peasants in the town belonged. They appeared healthy and clean. The flax is purchased ready spun of the peasants; from their spindles it is wound on reels, to form the warp. If the stuff is to be striped lengthways, the skeins, which are to be dyed, are taken to the dye-house, and brought back to the weaving-rooms when ready: if the stuff is to be clouded, as some sailors’ trousers are, these skeins are partially dyed at fixed intervals: in checked stuffs the woof is dyed in the same manner as the warp. The red colour is derived from a grass very common in the country, called *serpooka*; the other dyes are chiefly West Indian. The patterns for damask table-cloths are divided into squares, and each square into a hundred sub-divisions; the warp is then put in a vertical position, and its threads are divided into tens. A boy passes a white thread under those threads which are dark in the pattern, according to the direction of a man

¹ A corruption of the German word *Tuck*, cloth.—Ed.



who counts the light and dark squares, repeating them aloud with wonderful quickness and precision. This operation is much simplified by all the sub-divisions being decimals. When the warp is placed in the loom, a boy takes up, in regular order, the ends of each thread which has been so passed, and lifts them up at each stroke of the shuttle. The greatest width of their figured-cloths is six *arsheens*, about fourteen feet; these require two weavers, one of whom sits at each end of the loom; and in this case there are two boys to lift up the threads in the way I have mentioned; the price of a damask table-cloth, five feet long and six wide, is eleven rubles; the produce of the fabric is averaged at 500,000 rubles; it is carried to Petersburg for sale both in summer and winter.

“The mangle in this manufactory was carried by a horse-wheel, in which the horse remained stationary, and the wood work was turned round by the pressure of his feet; the weight thus put in motion amounts to 1,350 pood, above twenty-one tons. In the Smollberg fabric belonging to M. Uglichinivi, seven hundred hands are employed; they are most of them peasants attached to the fabric, and not allowed to be separated from it. Flems are sold in pieces of fifty *arsheens* long and one and a half wide; raveducks only differ in being coarser; these last are used for the top-sails of ships and for tents. Crash is made of the refuse flax, and used as outside covers to their bales. Calimancoes are made here of flax; they differ from flems in weaving, in that there are five pedals to the loom instead of two; so that the thread of the woof does not go above and below the threads of the warp alternately, but a fifth-part of the woof threads are lifted up at a time, instead of one half as in the common weaving.

“The silk fabric is not very considerable; there is but little machinery, and no spun silk; the owner told Thornton that the Russian peasants were too dirty for this work; but the people of Yaroslav boast much of the superior beauty and stature of their peasantry.

“While at Yaroslav I had an opportunity of seeing the ordina-



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tion of a priest. The candidate was introduced between two priests to the royal gate before the Altar, where he was met by the bishop. After much praying and singing, a white cloth was thrown over his head and face, which was agitated up and down to imitate the fluttering of a dove. He was then led several times round the altar in procession, the choir singing *αξιολογ*, *αξιολογ*, several times repeated; he was then clothed in sacerdotal garments, the bishop and priests laid their hands on his head, and then embraced him by turns as a new brother. The archbishop afterwards administered the communion, of which many of the congregation partook. When this ceremony was concluded, a great number of persons flocked to kiss his hands, and the whole service concluded with a sermon, in the middle of which the preacher broke off, and went to kneel and kiss the hand of the archbishop, who sat in a chair before the steps of the altar. The archbishop was a gentlemanlike man, but looked very sickly. We afterwards called on him, and found him much better lodged than Plato; he conversed in very tolerable French and Latin. He and all the inhabitants of Yaroslav have an idea that 'the great' Mr. Pitt paid them a visit about twenty years since. The archbishop maintained that he had himself done the honours of the place to him. In such remote countries similar mistakes, or perhaps wilful impostures are not uncommon. The prince and princess Michael Gallitzin, told us they had had an Irish peer as tutor to their children; his name they had forgotten, but said he was a very clever fellow. To this prince, the governor of Yaroslav, as well as to his family, we are under much obligation for their kindness and hospitality; he is a very pleasing man, and his wife remarkably amiable. If the house they inhabited was a specimen of most country houses, they are indeed very miserable; it was tolerably large, but cold, ruinous, and unfurnished; yet we have passed in it many pleasant moments.

"There is a moderately good society of noblesse in and near Yaroslav. We went to two or three balls, one of them masked, at which were present about three hundred persons; many of them were, however, bourgeois, who, though they are admitted to the

balls, are not allowed to dance. These assemblies are held in a large room belonging to the orphan-school, a splendid public charity, maintained by the voluntary contributions of the town and province. Government gives nothing for its support. Some of the children who are educated in it belong to the poor gentlemen of the province, and are lodged separately. They all wear a uniform of green, and both girls and boys are very well clothed, fed, and taught. The rites of the Greek Church are regularly performed in a small Chapel, morning and evening, and the children read by turns a chapter in the Slavonic Bible; they sing very pleasingly. There is a large academy in the town, with German professors, who are liberally paid; one of them receives more than the governor of a province, who, however, has only £500 a year.

“In the province of Yaroslav there are some considerable oak-woods, and we found government agents in the town employed to buy timber and other naval stores. One of these, a Captain * * * was then under a cloud, having been accused of embezzlement. He had been in England and spoke English well. He was a very robust man, who never wore gloves or any thing but cotton stockings in the severest weather, and never tasted any thing stronger than small beer.

“I had almost forgotten to mention that while we were here we witnessed a wolf-hunt on the Volga. Mr. Yaroslav, the gentleman who gave the party, showed us four wolves which he had caught some days before, and kept in a stable to be turned out as they were wanted; they were all lying in a heap together, and showed great signs of fear and wildness on our approach. There were also several foxes kept in the same way. On the day fixed for the hunt the largest of the wolves was produced, his mouth confined by a cord with a running noose; they put him into a sort of box on wheels containing one large and two smaller chambers; the former was occupied by the wolf; one of the latter held a fox and the other two hares. The box was then drawn by a horse down to the river which was already covered



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with spectators. There is on this river, as at Moscow and Petersburg, a space railed off on the ice for sledge-racing, an amusement of which the Russians are very fond, though they never make bets. The hares were first let out one after the other, and pursued by four great Siberian greyhounds, who however ran very ill. The wolf was then produced and unmuzzled; two stout fellows took him, one by the ears the other by the flanks, and carried him to some yards distance where they set him down on the ice. He looked round him for a moment and then set off as fast as he could. The snow, however, was deep, and the dogs, though they were also greatly inconvenienced by it, were too near, and soon came up with him, while two chasseurs on horseback rode round and headed him, very unfairly flogging him with their heavy Cossak whips. He now turned round on the dogs, bit one severely, and put the rest on their guard; they no longer came so near him, but contented themselves with baying round him. One of the huntsmen dismounted and began flogging him; on which he turned round sharp, made a snap at his hand and again set off running, in which by his superior strength he would soon have tired the dogs, had not the chasseurs checked him; again, however, he put his enemies to the rout, and would have escaped but for the chasseurs who continued the chase, though the dogs were quite knocked up and cowed. When the speed of the horses and the heavy blows of the whip had tired and half-blinded him, the running noose was again slipped over his jaws, and he was lifted into a sanky and carried home for another day's torment. The Siberian greyhound is a very beautiful creature with silky hair and a fan tail; they are not so swift as our greyhounds, but are said to be more hardy.

"The population of the government of Yaroslav is 950,000; in Paul's reign many English were sent there, as none were allowed to remain on the coast. Prince Alexander Obolensky, who served in the detachment which was charged with this duty, said they were reduced to great misery; many were plundered by the soldiers; and being unable to speak either Russian or French, had no means of making their complaints known to the officers, or of

expressing their wants. Those who were sent to the town of Yaroslav, received, we were told, much kindness from Captain Tchirnavin.

“From Yaroslav to Kostroma is a distance of sixty versts; the country is fertile, with many small lime woods and some oaks. Kostroma is a much smaller town than Yaroslav, and contains only 8,000 inhabitants; it is ancient and celebrated in history. The first czar of the house of Romanof was taken a child from the monastery in this town, where his father Feodor had concealed him and his mother during the invasion of the Poles. Feodor Romanof, though connected with the blood royal, had turned monk, and persuaded his wife to embrace a religious life. During the troubles of Russia his wife and his infant son Michael lay hid in the remote convent of Kostroma. He had become patriarch of Russia, and was entreated by the nobles to assume the crown, which, on his refusal, they bestowed on his son. The chair in which the wife of Feodor and her son Michael sat when the *boyars* came to make the offer, is still preserved in the great Church of Kostroma. Boris Godunof, who neglected nothing, had cultivated the regards of this monastic society, and we were shown several costly presents which he had made it. The proto-pope Jacob, from whom we received this information, speaks good Latin, and is a sensible well-informed man. Kostroma is an episcopal see; we did not see the bishop, but we heard a favourable account of his talents and character; his convent, as well as the Church where Michael received the *boyars*, is separated from the town by some meadows, and a small river which flows into the Volga. The town itself stands on a high promontory, with the Volga, a noble expanse of water, flowing at its foot; the opposite side is high and woody. The government-house stands on the highest point, and not far from it are two large Churches and an extensive square, surrounded with piazzas and shops, of which, however, only one side is yet finished; at one end of the square is a well built uniform street, entirely raised by Mr. Turigin, who received us into his house.



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“ The prison is a small and wretched hovel, full of fugitive slaves, mostly in heavy irons ; some of them were employed by government, but the rest were idle. Of these wretches there were no fewer than three hundred, very dirty and much crowded, though their food was clean and wholesome ; the heavy chains were rendered necessary from the house being built only of wood and very ill guarded.

“ From the prison we went to the orphan-house ; such hospitals are established in every great town in Russia, and are generally well kept up ; this was a small, but tolerably clean cottage, containing seventy-three children. Vaccination had not yet been tried. Almost adjoining is a sort of workhouse, where, though the rooms were clean, different kinds of vice and misery were stowed together with very little distinction. In one room were four madmen, who were, however, apparently harmless, but very ill clad, and shivering with cold. In another part of the town is a small but neat hospital, which was then merely occupied by two or three women ; and also an alms-house, where about twenty old soldiers, and fourteen or fifteen old women, the widows of soldiers, are maintained. The allowance to each individual is, I think, not more than five rubles a year from government ; but private charity supplies the deficiency. The old men, with long snow-white beards, half blind, and with every mark of age and infirmity, were a very moving sight. These institutions appear trifling ; but it must be considered that they are supported, almost entirely, by the voluntary contributions of a small and not a wealthy town. Separated from the town by a picturesque valley is a suburb, inhabited by about a hundred Tartar families, with a small neat mosque, part of the remnant of the ancient kingdom of Casan. A little further, and in the neighbourhood of Nishné Novogorod, a large proportion of the population is Tartar and Mahomedan.

“ The manufactures of Kostroma resemble those of Yaroslav, but are not so considerable ; the principal are those of Mr. Turigin, to whose hospitality we were greatly obliged ; we also received much kindness from the governor, Mr. Kotchelof. The inns in

the town are ten times worse than even those at Yaroslāv, and the society is not so numerous as at the latter place. There is an academy similar to that at Yaroslav, where Thornton heard about thirty boys examined, who really did credit to themselves and their teachers.

“While we were at Kostroma we saw a religious ceremony performed, in commemoration of the Empress Anne, and for the repose of her soul. The only remarkable part of the service was that a saucer of rice, mingled with wine, was set on a small table surrounded with candles, each of the officiating priests standing round with a farthing taper in his hand.

“On our return to Moscow we slept again at Yaroslav; in this our second visit nothing particular occurred, except that we went to see a Russ comedy acted by Colonel Valliachev, the master of police, and several gentlemen and ladies of the neighbourhood, in a private theatre at the house of Prince Gallitzin. The subject of the play was a young peasant being sent as a recruit;—though we could not ourselves understand it, we observed that some of the audience were often much affected; Colonel Valliachev acted the old man remarkably well; he is himself an author, and gave Thornton a volume of poems entitled *ANPA*. Between Yaroslav and Moscow we found every town full of preparations for the approaching carnival.



CHAPTER VI.

MOSCOW TO TAGANROG.

Preparations for journey—Change of weather—Death of Mr. Pitt—Count Alexis Orlof—Ornaments of the Russian ladies—Armenian merchants—Lazarof—Regret at leaving Moscow—Retrospection—Extortions of post-masters—Snow-storm—Serpouchof—Peasants' houses—Tula—Arsenal—Manufactures—Orel—Koursk—Bielgorod—Charkof—Cossaks—University of Charkof—Donetz ferry—Bakmuth—Steppes—Ivanovna—Suslik—Nogay Tartars—Taganrog—Trade—Fishery—History of Taganrog—Quarantine—Society—Madame Cashparof—Scotch missionaries—Eve of Palm Sunday.

“ *To Mrs. Heber.*

Moscow, March 3, 1806.

“ MY DEAR MOTHER,

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“ THORNTON has just received a letter from his father, the result of a conversation with my brother ; this gives us a *carte blanche* with regard to our future progress ; this will, however, continue as I stated it in my last letter to my brother from hence. To give up the idea of visiting Greece under the present view of things, is, I believe, most advisable ; and the sacrifice will be made up by our speedier return home, and the means of instruction afforded by a visit to Vienna and Austria. Other accounts which we have received entirely confirm Stuart's advice, of the accuracy of which, indeed, no reasonable doubt could be entertained. Should, however, any change of circumstances take place, we shall have certain and immediate information at Odessa, which we mean to take in our way, and where we shall probably



pass some days; from thence we may bend our course either towards Prussian or Austrian Poland. Thornton is now busily employed in hunting out a convenient travelling-carriage; and we hope to quit this city on Monday next. Our stay here has been much longer than we either expected or desired; but it was absolutely necessary to wait for the decision of our friends; and I do not think we could have found a fitter residence for a Russian winter.

“From the round of visits and balls which I mentioned in my last, the beginning of Lent has given us some respite; and we have been employing this leisure in a close application to German, a knowledge of which is a *sine qua non* to our schemes. The weather is already beginning to change; and farther south, every thing, we are told, is green and flowery, which not a little increases our eagerness to be gone. On Monday, then, ‘twenty adieus, my frozen Moscovites,’ (though their climate is the only thing that we have found frozen about them, and that has been, generally speaking, very tolerable). Our first push is for Tcherkask, the capital of the Cossaks, where we hope to arrive in a fortnight; we shall then run through the Crimea to Odessa, and by Kamirici and Lemberg, to Vienna, where we shall arrive by the first of June. The detour of the Crimea we are induced to take as a sort of substitute for Greece and Italy; and in this country travelling is so rapid that a small increase of distance would not induce or even justify us in relinquishing one of the most beautiful and interesting countries in the world, and where we need apprehend neither plague, nor French, nor banditti. There is likewise this advantage in our getting to Vienna a month later, that we allow full time for the Austrian territories to get tranquillized, and shall be at Odessa in the best possible situation for getting advice and intelligence. Compare this with our immediate return through the sands of Poland and Brandenburg, and I am sure you will not wonder at our choice, especially as we shall be in England, at the latest, by the beginning of October, having completed the tour of the northern and midland parts of Europe. By your last letter I fear



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that some of my own have miscarried, a circumstance which often happens in the posts of this country. Direct to me at Vienna as at Stockholm, *poste restante*, and put no politics in the letter.

“ Poor Pitt ! We have just received the news of his death, which has caused great sorrow to the English and the friends of England, who are here very numerous, especially among the old ministers of Catherine, the Orlofs, the Ostermans, &c. At Count Osterman’s house we are intimate, and dine there once or twice in a week ; he is a very fine interesting old man. Count Alexis Orlof we have also been presented to, and have been at his ball ; but unfortunately he does not speak French, and we are too weak in Italian and German to venture on conversation. As an object to look at he is one of the most interesting and venerable I ever saw ; immensely tall, but a good deal bent by age, with a striking countenance, and long grey hair hanging about his face and shoulders. His daughter, a pleasing but not beautiful girl of about eighteen, who sings, plays, dances, rides, hunts, speaks French, English, and German, all to perfection, is, for these accomplishments, as well as for the additional one of being heiress to about 400,000 rubles a year, the ‘ cynosure of Russian eyes.’ Her father, like the other Russian nobles, keeps a most immense establishment, having a family of about five hundred persons, and at least two or three hundred horses. Indeed, the eastern retinues and luxuries which one meets with here are almost beyond belief. There are few English countesses have so many pearls in their possession as I have seen in the streets in the cap of a merchant’s wife. At a ball in the ancient costume which was given by M. Nelidensky (secretary of state to the late empress, whose family we have found the most agreeable in Moscow), the ladies all wore caps entirely of pearls, and the blaze of diamonds on their *saraphans*, (the ancient Russian tunic) would have outshone, I think, St. James’s. The pearl bonnet is not a becoming dress, as it makes its wearer look very pale, a fault which some ladies had been evidently endeavouring to obviate. In general, however, this is not a very prevailing practice in Moscow, in which respect, as well as in every

other, its ladies have an infinite advantage over those of Petersburg. The jewels are brought here, for the most part, by Armenian merchants, or Tartars from Samarcand and Bocchara, who have from the earliest ages been the carriers of the east. They bring into Russia shawls, heron's plumes, attar of roses, jewels, and other Indian and Cashmerian productions, which bring them an immense profit. Their wanderings, which extend from Poland to Ava and Mysore, often last several years, and must be wonderfully interesting to any hardy European who might venture to accompany them. Some of the Armenians are very wealthy; one of them, named Lazarof, gave during our stay in Moscow a magnificent *fête*, to which we procured an invitation, and met almost all the great people in the place. The master of the house had assumed the European dress, but his servants and dependants retained their own, which is very graceful. Next to the Georgians they are the handsomest people I have ever seen.

The young men in Moscow are not generally well-informed, though all speak two or three languages with fluency. Nothing can exceed their ignorance of foreign nations, or their eagerness after foreign fashions. Of the English they have very little idea. I was once asked if it were not true that we hanged our prisoners of war; and once if the women in England were not slaves, and sold with a halter about their necks. There are, however, many striking exceptions, and we have met with several persons who are thoroughly well-mannered and well-informed, and who would be considered ornaments in any society in the world. The dissipation of Russia I had heard much of, but in this, as in every thing else, I have found the national character more amiable and innocent than it had been represented to me. Cards are very much the habit of the place, and they game very high, but have too good manners to ask you to play twice; and I have never touched a card except to draw a caricature upon it. The younger people, in fact, here, as elsewhere, are never expected to play, excepting in the lower circles, where we have had no connexion. On the whole, if it were not for the prospects before me, I should look upon what I am leaving



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with regret, as I always shall with esteem, as the seat of much real hospitality, good humour, and good manners. Every thing, however, increases my wish to be in England.

“ Yours affectionately,

“ REGINALD HEBER.

“ Alas for Pitt !—neither balls nor belles can drive him out of my head !”

To Mrs. Heber.

Charkof, March 26, 1806.

“ I am now writing in the capital of the Ukraine, where we are enjoying a day's rest, in a comfortable house, after a tedious and rather fatiguing journey from Moscow. We terminated our two months' residence there on the 13th. The preceding Monday had been originally fixed for our departure; but a severe cold, which threatened at first something more serious, obliged Thornton to take a day or two's nursing. We set out in a Polish britchka, an excellent travelling carriage, resembling a barouche, but of very simple construction, having springs only behind, while the fore-part plays on an iron pivot. Its simplicity renders it easy to repair in case of accident, and its length enables one to lie down almost as comfortably as in bed; no small advantage in a country where there is very often no other bed to be found. Thornton's servant followed in a kibitka; both were on sledges, with their wheels ready to be put on, as we hoped soon to get out of the 'land of mist and snow.' As we mounted the range of woody hills which look down on Moscow, with its white walls, and its fifteen hundred spires, we stopped our horses, and took a last and affectionate farewell. It is indeed here only, since my quitting England, that I have felt the tax which we birds of passage are said to pay, and experienced the reality of those regrets which it is so civil to counterfeit, and so uncommon to feel. At quitting Petersburg I had no such sensation; those few of my acquaintance whom I cared for I have a good chance of meeting again in England. But in

leaving Moscow the case is widely different ; and it is almost a painful pleasure to run over in my memory the little circle of friends I have relinquished at once and for ever. It is but a sorry comfort that the regrets of a traveller are as short-lived as his pleasures ; and that a little change of scene, and a little nearer prospect of home, will make me forget my Moscovite friends, as, in a short time, they will forget me. So, however, it is : and till I can persuade Moscow and Birmingham to change places, I fear we can find no remedy.

“ Of former English travellers Tweddell seemed to have made the greatest impression ; an impression augmented, no doubt, by his melancholy and romantic death. The society in Moscow, as I mentioned in a former letter, is by no means literary, though we have found exceptions to the general character in Count Alexis Moussin Pouschkin, the only Russian antiquary known to exist ; in Prince Dashkof, the pupil of Robertson at Edinburgh, and some few others. With M. Karamsin, whose travels in Europe are reviewed in the ‘Edinburgh’, we lived a good deal : he has married a remarkably fine woman, the daughter of Prince Andrew Wiasemsky, to whom we had letters of introduction, and whose hospitality and conversation made us pretty constant visitors at his house, though we seldom agreed in politics, and Thornton used to have discussions with him of an hour long. M. Karamsin is historiographer to the emperor, and is now employed on a history of Russia. He is a quiet gentleman like man of about forty-five or fifty ; and told me, shaking his head, that he was very young when he wrote his travels. I afterwards found that a rival author, for M. Karamsin has also his rivals, has translated into Russ the Scottish critique on his travels, and circulated it through Moscow with great solicitude. Such is the wide-spread celebrity of an Edinburgh reviewer. I am not sure whether in my last letter I mentioned the Princess Dashkof, the friend and fellow-conspirator of Catherine the Second. We often visited her, and found her conversation, when she was disen-

¹ Edinburgh Review, Jan. 1804.



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gaged from faro, very lively and interesting. She, of course, has lost her ancient beauty, but still retains her eccentricities; her usual dress is a man's great-coat and night-cap, with a star. We received both from her and her son many civilities; she speaks admirable English, and he, from his education, still better. For our introduction to this family we were obliged to Prince Bariatinsky, whose acquaintance I made at Petersburg through Mr. Coxe, who knows my brother, and who is a very friendly good-natured man. To no one, however, at Moscow, I may add in Russia, are we so much obliged as to General Beklechef, military governor of Moscow, whose attention to us extended to every the minutest circumstance, which could add to our comfort or amusement, in Moscow or elsewhere. While in Moscow, he regularly procured us tickets for every ball, and gave us orders to see the prisons, public offices, and every thing else which could contribute to our amusement or instruction. When we proposed leaving the place, he furnished us, unasked, with recommendations to all the government towns through which we were to pass; and to save us the usual three weeks' delay in obtaining passports, he offered himself as guarantee for our debts, &c., which, however, as a month must necessarily elapse before our leaving Russia, turned out to be needless. You will find in a box of different prints which Mr. Bayley is going to send for me to England, a good likeness of this worthy old man, which pray receive with respect, as the portrait of the kindest friend we have met with out of England.

“ My letter has hitherto been somewhat like a college commemoration of benefactors; proceed we now to our journey. It would be tedious to run through the many adventures and misadventures (none however serious) which we have met with in so long a tour, about nine hundred miles. Our progress in the northern part was impeded by deep snow, and in the southern by deep mud and overflowing rivers. Our way lay through Tula (the Birmingham of Russia,) Orel, and Kourisk, the two last very fertile provinces, where the snow was already melted, and the black rich mould almost prepared for the plough. In this province, the

plough is already at work. On the whole I have been much struck with the fertility and population of the country, the number of large towns, and the profusion of Churches. Yet, on making more rigid enquiries, we seldom found the number of people so great as we at first supposed, and which, indeed, in some instances, would almost have kept a Chinese statist in countenance. The country, though tolerably variegated with hill and dale, is never beautiful, being so absolutely bare of trees or brush-wood, that the people burn dung for fuel. Our present abode, Charkof, is ill off, as well as all the Ukraine, for water. A university on a very splendid scale has just been established here, and stocked with French and German professors, from whom, as well as from the governor, M. Backtyn, we have received a hospitality of which Oxford itself need not have been ashamed. The people of the Ukraine and of all Little Russia differ extremely, both in dress and manner, from the inhabitants of Russia proper. They rebelled from the Poles in the reign of Alexis (father of Peter the Great,) and again from the Russians under their famous chief Maseppa, who joined Charles of Sweden. They, as well as the Cossaks, who are of the same race, wear a dress between Polish and Tartar, and speak with great contempt of their Russian neighbours.

Taganrog, April 1st, 1806.

“ My letter, which was begun in the Ukraine, is now finished on the shore of the sea of Asoph, where we are just arrived after a very pleasant journey from Charkof, through the territory of the Cossaks, enjoying a most delightful climate, and very tolerable roads. The country itself reminded me much of Craven, except that it is quite unenclosed, and still more bare of wood. It is almost entirely limestone hills, covered with verdure, and with numerous herds, but very thinly peopled. Its inhabitants are exactly the race I had expected to find them; boastful, high-spirited, proud, and jealous of their ancient customs and privileges; and at the same time as gay, idle, and, apparently, as profligate, as could be expected from a little commonwealth of soldiers. They



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are a very handsome race; and their dress, which is nearly the same as the Persian or Armenian, is warlike and becoming. We have, however, not yet seen them in their capital, Tcherkask, (Tcherkass, or Circassian, being the name they always give themselves,) but we hope to be there next week, after having spent a few days here to rest ourselves, and to get comfortably to bed, which is almost a novelty to us, never having had our clothes off since we left Moscow, except for two nights at Charkof. Taganrog is an inconsiderable sea-port on the sea of Asoph, which is, indeed, little more than a lake. We are now fast approaching classical ground: before us are the Palus Meotis, and the Bosphorus: on our right hand the Taurica Chersonesus; and on our left the Tanais, Colchis, and Iberia, the modern Georgia and Circassia. It is to this quarter we are turning our steps, intending, however, to stop on the safe side of the Kuban and Mount Caucasus, and to enter the Crimea by the straits of Taman, (the Bosphorus). Whatever information I may pick up respecting Prometheus, Io, the Arimaspians, or the Amazons, shall be contained in my next letter, which will be from Phanagoria, or Theodosia, where we shall arrive, I hope, in less than three weeks. The only real antiquity I have yet seen, is the multitude of tumuli on the steppes between Baenouth and this place. Each is ornamented with one, or sometimes two, statues, of rude workmanship, and of antiquity which neither history nor even fable has attempted to reach. They are, perhaps, those tombs, for which alone the Scythians told Darius they thought it worth their while to contend.

"We have seen many eagles and thousands of wild ducks, but have had very bad success in shooting. For the rest, we are both in excellent health, and exult in our escape from the snows of the north to this delightful climate. We are, however, cautioned to beware of relying on it too implicitly, and still continue the safeguard of great coats and furs, which are always useful after sun-set.

"I ought to be ashamed of sending you so slovenly a sketch of a very interesting and little known country; but within the

bounds of a letter accuracy of detail is, of course, impossible. For every thing that is worthy of remark, I must refer you to my notes, which I have continued to keep with tolerable care, and which may help me in many a winter evening's discussion. Highly as we have been favoured in our means of acquiring knowledge, it would have been very foolish indeed not to have taken advantage of the opportunities afforded us. In a letter, however, I can say little more than that I am safe and likely to continue so; well, and likely to continue so; mindful of my friends, and, I am very sure, quite certain to continue so. The spring is already far advanced, and the rivers which, a little way northward, were continual causes of delay, are here all subsided into their usual channel. The leaves are, however, not quite out, and I begin to suspect that the earliness of a Crimean spring is a little exaggerated.

"This journey and gradual change of air has, I think, completely restored Thornton's health, about which I felt not quite easy at Moscow. I, for my part, wanted no restoration; but the breezes of the steppe are certainly more salubrious than the sighs and whispers of a ball-room; and my companion assures me he is not the only person who has gained in good looks since our journey began. Our exercise has, indeed, been constant rather than violent, and our habits, from necessity, very temperate. These two specifics will be, I hope, sufficient to preserve us in health; but one of the last presents which we received in Moscow was a well-stocked medicine-chest. We have also letters for the famous physician Dr. Pallas, to say nothing of, at least, a hundred cautions and recipes from the Countess Pouschkin and Princess Dashkof; in particular, not to overheat ourselves, not to wet our feet, and never to go thinly clad. You see good advice and good old ladies may be met with in every part of the world.

"Believe me, my dear mother,

"Yours most affectionately,

"REGINALD HEBER."



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JOURNEY FROM MOSCOW TO TAGANROG.

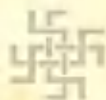
“March 13th, 1806.—Left Moscow. In the interval between winter and spring a traveller must expect to meet with considerable difficulties, whether he goes on wheels or sledges. We had very many different counsels given us, and I am inclined to think the method Thornton took with his britchka was, after all, much the best. A sledge was put under the fore axletree, which raised the fore-wheels seven or eight inches from the ground; the hind wheels ran as usual. The roads were very bad indeed. We left Moscow in company with Stackhouse and Baker, which unluckily exposed us to considerable inconvenience in getting horses. The post-masters showed likewise a strong inclination to impose on strangers. The delays we met with from these circumstances were great, the post-master extorting double at the first stage; and at the second, where we did not arrive till night, the man's demands were so exorbitant, that we got quietly into the britchka, and went to sleep, intending to wait the nine hours, after which we could legally oblige him to produce horses. He, however, came down in his demands, and we proceeded to the next station, where Thornton was again obliged to bribe high to get horses to Serponchov. A violent storm of wind and snow, which had continued increasing all the night, drove so terribly in our drivers' faces, and had so drifted up the road, that it was impossible to find it. The sankies generally, from their vast numbers, beat and mark a road very soon; but it was too early, and the storm too violent even for them. We lost our way, and continued about six hours in a snow-drift; at length we got shelter in a miserable cottage, and when the horses had rested, proceeded to Serpouchov, where we lodged in a little villa belonging to the Princess Dashkof. The plan of this villa was very convenient; the best rooms had divans covered with thick and soft mats, made of a kind of sweet-smelling grass, which served as very comfortable beds; the other rooms were partially carpeted in the same manner, in which the servants slept.



"Serpouchof is a department town, having a 'granitza,' or mayor, whose limit of authority is bounded by some white posts, about a quarter of a mile from town. There is a ruined fortress on a small eminence on the river Oka, or, as it is pronounced, Acca; this river is not very considerable here; at Orel it is much more so. After a very winding course it receives the Mosqua, and afterwards falls into the Volga at Nishné Novogorod, which, from that reason, being the centre of the water-communication of the empire, is sometimes called the natural metropolis of Russia. Its situation is described to us as very magnificent and convenient.

"To return to Serpouchof; its situation is pleasant, near a fine grove of fir and oak, and there are many good houses in the town. A manufactory of sail-cloth, raven-duck, &c. is carried on in it. We saw their manner of bleaching the flax, but for want of an intelligent interpreter, could not understand much of it. In winter, when they cannot bleach on the grass, they first boil the flax, and afterwards put it into cauldrons with layers of charcoal alternately, to steep; this process, however, bleaches it very ineffectually. The fine linen used in Russia is bleached on the grass, and is quite white; but all the linen exported is only half bleached. The best spun yarn costs twenty rubles per pood, and the worst thirteen. The workmen in this manufactory were worse dressed and looked more unhealthy than those at Yaroslav.

"*March 14th.*—Left Serpouchof for Tula. The horses which drew our britchka being quite knocked up, refused to move, and the drivers immediately laid the blame on us, saying that we had 'evil eyes.' On our way we met a gentleman in a kibitka, drawn by three horses, one before the other, with the postilion on the middle horse. This is the usual manner of harnessing them in cross-country roads, where the track is narrow. Russian servants on a journey endure great hardships, being exposed to a cold of which an Englishman can scarcely form an idea; and travelling night and day for, sometimes, eight or ten days together, on the outside of a kibitka, or in an open sanky. The country on this side of Serpouchof is bare of trees, and all arable. The peasants



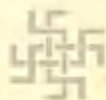
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are much poorer than in the north, which is owing, in some measure, to the dearness of fuel ; yet they all wear the *labkas* (shoes of linden bark.) Their houses are miserably small, consisting merely of a small ante-chamber, where they sometimes keep their cattle, and another room, where they live. The stove, which is without a chimney, occupies about a third part of one side of the room; and the remainder of that side is fitted up with something like a Turkish divan, covered with straw, on which all the people sleep who are not lucky enough to get on the stove. The fire is made of wood, turf, or dung, and there is a hole in the roof of the house by which, for some minutes, they allow the grosser smoke to escape; they then close it, and the whole room becomes one stove. The houses are all thatched, instead of being covered with shingles, and the walls are generally made of wood instead of mud, notwithstanding its dearness; the people rather choose to diminish the size of their cottages, than to adopt a different material for building them. They are dirtier than the inhabitants of Yaroslav, and are much worse fed.

“ Zavodi, our next post, so named for its mineral waters, is a neat village with a very decent post-house—decent at least in comparison with what we have generally seen. The next day, March 15th, we arrived at Tula, capital of the province of the same name, famous for its iron works and for being a very ancient foundation. The original town is now only marked out by its walls which are entire, but merely contain the Cathedral Church and a few government buildings; its circuit is so small that I should doubt its ever having been any thing more than a fortress or convent, though the people call it ‘Gorod.’ The new town is of great extent and considerable population, containing about 25,000 inhabitants; the streets are for the most part very wide and generally built at right angles to each other; on the ascent of the hill which is behind the town, is an extensive square with two very large buildings apparently belonging to government; near it on the left hand, but rather higher up, is a singular Church with white columns, of two stories high, which is, indeed, no uncommon circumstance in Russia, the

ground-floor, which is much lower than the other, being warmed with stoves and used in winter. A small river runs through the town; the barriers are adorned with ridiculous triumphal arches of painted deal, and the ornaments on the gate of the arsenal are of the same material. The iron used in the arsenal is partly taken from some mines belonging to M. Dimidof, situated between this place and Kaluga, and partly brought all the way by the sledge-road from Siberia. What is used in the government fabric is chiefly of the latter kind; the number of persons who labour in the government works are about 3,500, and those who are employed in private fabrics are about 3000. The guns made here look very neat, but the springs, locks, &c. are all bad, and the guns very apt to burst when they are discharged. It is a common trick with the workmen to put 'London' on their works, sometimes even in Russ characters; a most clumsy attempt at imposition. A tolerable musket may be bought for two or three guineas English. One of the overseers of the government fabric, a M. Leontief, is himself a very good workman, and was formerly an apprentice of Nock. In these latter works they usually make 1,200 musquets a week; and in case of need can supply a regiment, which may demand about 1,600. In the arsenal are many old guns of various patterns and weight, according to the whims of Potemkin, Paul, Peter the II^d. &c. &c. The present emperor has, since the affair of Austerlitz, sent down a new model; the musquet, without the bayonet, weighing only 10½ pounds English. The wood used in making them is supplied by some considerable woods in a low swampy tract of country which bounds the province to the south; they are under the direction of a set of government rangers, with the principal of whom we dined.

"We found very bad inns in Tula, though we understood that this was only owing to our having taken the recommendation of the peasants who drove us; we were unfortunate in the absence of several of those persons to whom we had letters of introduction, as we were thereby deprived of many pieces of information respecting the fabric, such as the expence and time of carriage, the



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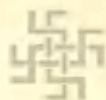
quality of the iron in the neighbouring mines, which indeed we understood was inferior to that of Siberia, and the reasons which induced government to carry their raw material such a distance to a country neither abounding in wood nor convenient water-carriage, instead of working it on the spot. Much of the private trade of Tula is in toys and smaller hardware; minute steel chains and steel snuff-boxes are the principal articles manufactured. There are also some dealers in hogs' bristles, one of whom Thornton visited; he saw in his yard a pig of the bristle-bearing breed, which, however, differed but little from any other Russian pig, and a very bad breed it is. Thornton could get little information to be depended on about the bristles; the man said that none were got without killing the hog; one hog seldom afforded more than a pound of bristles, which were cleaned by combing, and then laid out on boards to dry in the sun.

" *March 18th.* Left Tula; the first stage presents a very fine wood, and a valley much resembling English park scenery, which is a sight of rare occurrence here. As we advanced, we found a very great improvement in the manners of the people, and in the facility of procuring horses; this last may, possibly, be owing to there being fewer travellers. The snow gradually began to melt; we met kibitkas on wheels, and saw winter wheat. The country people had many of them instead of the fur cap, the summer dress, a broad brimmed hat. On the 19th we passed through a great dirty town with eight Churches, called Mëenski; it stands on a small river which falls into the Oka; we breakfasted there, but could hear of no manufactures nor any thing worth seeing. The same evening we arrived at Orel, a government town of considerable size and importance, with a good inn, at least for Russia, kept by an Italian; Italians and Germans are scattered all over Russia. Orel is in a very noble situation on the banks of the Oka, which is crossed here by a wooden bridge; bridges of better materials are very uncommon, and would, indeed, be annually exposed to destruction from the ice and floods. The government buildings are extensive, consisting of a long range of barracks and gra-

naries ; much of the grain for the use of the army is collected here, the whole of the province being arable. The province is populous, containing above a million of inhabitants. The barracks are destined for the regiment of the cuirassiers of St. George, which is raised and generally quartered in the neighbourhood. There is a civil but no military governor ; he complained greatly of the want of society, and said that there were very few gentlemen's families in the neighbourhood, and even these seldom came to Orel. No manufactures of any consequence are carried on in the town ; its chief trade is in flour. As we entered, the drivers had some bargaining with a gentleman who wished to purchase one of their horses, for which they refused thirty rubles ; it was a poney which might, in England, have fetched eight or ten pounds. Our stay in Orel was short, for there seemed little to be learnt, and the governor was very uncommunicative. In the market we saw a vast quantity of lime bark.

“ *March 20th.*—We here left our sledges, a step somewhat premature, as we found the clay we had to go over retained the snow longer than the sandy soil to the northward. We travelled all night, and at seven in the morning of the 21st were set fast for about two hours in a deep hole, whence we were dragged by the assistance of a dozen horses, which we borrowed from some sankies that happened to be passing. We were induced to leave our sledges at Orel by the example of some Polish travellers who had come from Kief on wheels.

“ *March 22d.*—We arrived at Koursk about nine o'clock, A.M. and got into a very decent house kept by a Russ, who had married a German wife. Soon after our arrival, a physician named Klugelmacker, brother-in-law to our host, called on us and said that we had no time to lose in crossing the little river near the town, as, in a few hours it would be out of our power to do so, from the quantity of ice which the heavy floods were bringing down. We received a very obliging message from the governor to the same purport, accompanied with a padorashna as far as Taganrog, and a letter to the mayor of Bielgorod. We dined at the ordinary, and



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endeavoured to learn something about the town ; it has no manufactures ; cattle and corn are the products of the country and their only articles of commerce ; both are very plentiful and cheap. There dined at the ordinary the host, the German hostess, and four other persons, two of whom spoke German and one a little French ; we had some Rhenish wine, with the name of which they were unacquainted. We had no time to deliver our letters of introduction here,—but leaving the town after dinner, we made a detour to avoid the ruinous bridge, and crossed the stream on a temporary one higher up. Dr. Halliday was a long time physician at Koursk.

“ We breakfasted on Sunday the 23rd at a very neat village belonging to the Archduke Constantine.

“ *March 24th.*—We passed through Bielgorod, a large town with many Churches. Within one stage of Charkof, finding no horses, we made a bargain with a man, who was travelling with two fine horses and a little poney, to draw us there, a distance of about twenty-four versts, though, as we found too late, he had already come thirty-six versts without baiting : he was drunk, and we lost our way, and passed the night in a farm-yard, after being drawn by oxen out of a bog.

“ Charkof is the capital of the government of Sloboda Ukranien. The word Ukraine signifies frontier. This is a different province from the Polish Ukraine, which comprehended the countries between Poland, Russia, Turkey, and Hungary. As this formed the frontier between Russia and the Turkish dominions, the inhabitants, as well as those of Little Russia, all anciently belonged to Poland, from whom they revolted in the reign of Alexis ; they possessed many privileges, having their own Hetman, and enjoying an exemption from the power of the nobility, and many other of the privileges of the Cossaks. Those of the Sloboda Ukranien were *bona fide* Cossaks, till Catherine took away all their privileges ; they are now *bona fide* Russians, but still preserve their language and their dress, and are very proud of their nation. We were struck by the frequency of swearing in all Little and New Russia ; it is infinitely more common than in the

northern parts ; the people are said to be great drunkards, but are, on the whole, a more cleanly and industrious race than the people of the north. Their houses are no longer built of timber, which is here very scarce indeed, but of clay whitewashed, and much more decent in appearance than we had expected.

“ Notwithstanding the quantity of cattle, milk is rarely to be met with, and they make neither butter nor cheese ; the milk is entirely employed for their calves, feeding cattle being their chief husbandry. The little milk we could get was always considered as so much stolen from the calf, who continued sucking on one side of the cow, while the woman was milking at the other, and after some time they changed sides, to which method the calf seemed quite accustomed. We were assured that the cattle from hence were sometimes driven even into Germany. The crown has large property here, as well as in the neighbouring parts. The houses in all Little and New Russia are good, and the condition of the people, except in the article of fuel, is easy ; their soil is apparently the same calcareous loam which prevails throughout the empire, to the south of Ancient Russia, and water is every where scarce and bad. In finery and dress these Cossaks far surpass the Russians, especially the women. We once saw in a cottage an old woman who was covered with gaudy ornaments ; she had on a silk gown embroidered with gold, a short silk petticoat ; and an ‘ imperial’ hung round her neck ; she looked at our spoons, and said that she herself had twelve such, as well as some knives and forks, a tea-kettle, and a pretty daughter, who was to inherit all this wealth. Peacocks are kept as common poultry in the Russian cottages of the south.

Charkof is itself a large and dirty town, in rather a fine situation ; it has a very handsome building for the offices of government and the courts of justice, and another where Catherine lodged during her short stay, which was erected on purpose. It has been since used as the governor’s house, and is now the university. This university was founded about three years ago by the present emperor, and is a noble public work. It has a chancellor,



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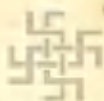
the Count Potolski; a rector, who resides constantly; and will, when complete, have twenty-eight professors, and twelve lecturers who have not the rank of professors. They are all paid very liberally by government, independent of what they receive from their pupils, which is, indeed, not much. M. Du Ballu, a Frenchman, the Greek professor, told me his income was a clear four thousand rubles a year. M. Du Ballu was quite an original, and, indeed, as might be expected from a new society, it was a complete paradise of schemes, every one having some new system of instruction to propose. Mm. Urnlauf, alone, a very sensible Prussian who spoke English perfectly, and who was professor of humanity and of German literature, declared himself against all schemes, and stood up for the old plans. We attended a lecture of M. Ballu's, on French tragedy, and another of M. Stoicovitz's, the philosophical professor on electricity; the instruments he used were all English. M. Stoicovitz is a Slavonian by birth; he finds the Russian so similar to his own language, that he has acquired it with very little difficulty. We met also the mathematical professor, a Russ, who knew nothing of Euclid; he said he possessed all Newton's works in one quarto volume, an edition of which we had never heard. The governor, Baktyn, is himself rather a literary man, and very attentive to the university; he was formerly procurator at Tobolsk, when Bootle was there, and was very intimate with Bentham. From him I picked up some particulars about Siberia. There is a sudden change of appearance in the country as soon as you have crossed the Ural mountains; on one side are oaks and firs; on the other neither oak nor fir is seen; their place is supplied by a species of cedar. The country is very fertile, and much resembles North America; its population is scanty, but the people cleanly, industrious, and thriving. There are very few estates belonging to the nobility; all the peasants are owned by the crown.

"To return to Charkof and its university. Every professor has the rank of colonel or major, according to his age; every lecturer the rank of captain; and every student that of ensign. The num-

ber of students are not above eighty, sixty of whom are the sons of priests. They are obliged to attend lectures regularly, are examined four times a year, and at length such of them as are deserving are provided for either in the Church, the civil or military departments. Their dress of ceremony is a green uniform with a sword; that of the professors is embroidered. There is a small but increasing library, and the whole establishment does great credit to its founder and to those who manage his bounty. The professors complained of the situation of the university as being quite too remote, and wished much for a translation to Kief. They had had some letters from different universities in Germany of which they were very proud; their hospitality and urbanity to strangers was worthy of All Souls or of Trinity. The manners of the place, of the loungers at the German *traiteurs*, &c. had all, even already, acquired something of an academical air, and we heard every mouth full of the rising university. The music-master told us that the people of Little Russia had a remarkable ear for music, and that most of the noblemen's bands came from that province; he had himself a peasant as his pupil, who certainly did him great credit; he also taught on an entire new system.

“In Charkof we found every thing reasonable, and the postillions were ready to throw their caps into the air for much less money than would have even contented them in the neighbourhood of Moscow. The wages of a man are not above fifteen or twenty copeks a day; neither this nor any of the towns in Little Russia are paved; in fact they have no materials for paving in the province. Charkof stands on a small river which is fordable in summer; but the very heavy rains of the spring and autumn swell it to a considerable height, and, with the melting of the snow, have left many deep chasms in the hill on which the town is built; the water is very bad. The soil on the southern side is sandy, and there is a considerable wood of firs.

We left Charkof on the 27th, and were obliged to make a considerable detour on the Pultova road to Merkof in order to avoid inundations, and had then great difficulty in persuading the men to



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give us peasants' horses to take us across the country to Smiof, where we rejoined the Bakmuth road. The roads were execrable, and we did not arrive there till four the next morning. We found a very clean post-house, kept by one of the most beautiful women I have seen in Russia; her husband was also a fine looking stout fellow. We were obliged to wait here some time for horses, during which, having a letter from governor Backtyn, we went to the granitza of the place, and procured from him an order for peasants' horses in the next village, which we afterwards found of great use. In the course of this stage we crossed the Donetz; its waters had already somewhat subsided, but still covered an expanse of about an English mile. The valley thus inundated was bounded by woody hills, and the scenery was very pleasing. The ferry-boats used in Russia are two or more canoes, each of a single tree, lashed together with spars, at six, eight, or ten feet distant, with a platform laid upon them sufficiently large to contain one or two carriages with their horses; the form of their canoes exactly resembles those of the Friendly Islands as described by Cook. At Izume we crossed the Donetz a second time; the boatmen here showed great unwillingness to take us over because we travelled with post-horses, which they are obliged by law to pass at a much lower rate than what they extort from the peasants. Some fifty or a hundred peasants were assembled on the beach waiting for the boat; we were among them above two hours, and had an opportunity of again observing the good-nature of the Russian character, as, notwithstanding the crowd and confusion, not a single quarrel took place. They showed great symptoms of being unused to strangers, mimicked our words and tones, and seemed much diverted at our talking a different language. This was the only time we had seen any marks of insolence in a Russian towards a foreigner. We had here again a letter for the granitza, and were obliged to have recourse to his authority to procure ourselves a passage. The stream was very much discoloured, rapid and violent; it was passed in the usual way by means of a great cable.

"Immediately above Izume, before passing a ruined barrier

of a very singular form, we ascended some high chalky downs, much resembling the downs of Surry. They continued for about twelve miles, during which space we witnessed many terrible ravages of torrents, from the melting of the snow; into one of the chasms made by their force our carriage was very near slipping. We passed the night at a village where was a fair of cattle; I unfortunately forget the price of a pair of oxen, but it struck me as not so cheap as might be expected.

“The 29th of March we reached Baemuth, the ancient frontier of Malo Russia, and the Crimean Khans; it is the first town in Novo Russia, a miserable place, with notoriously bad water, and in an unhealthy situation. Here the steppes begin; the soil is all the same species of whitish calcareous clay. In the neighbourhood of Baemuth, and scattered all over the steppe, are vast numbers of an ancient species of monument, consisting of a small tumulus, on the top of which a male and female figure are generally rudely carved in lime-stone. We had heard them attributed to the Monguls, but I cannot find that the Calmuks know any thing about them; and they have, perhaps, a much higher antiquity. Human skeletons, the bones of horses and other animals, have been found in those which have been examined. There are still some small towns and villages in the steppe, and much of it is ploughed. We passed through three of these villages; they had willows planted about them, and had, at first, something the effect of English villages, from the mixture of enclosures, houses, &c.; but the charm was dissipated on a nearer approach; the habitations are all miserable, and dirty, and small. The inhabitants were mostly Malo Russian colonists; to appearance they were more wretched than the peasants of Muscovy, but all the information we could gain seemed to prove the contrary. Their masters, we were assured by the people at Taganrog, were much more merciful than the Russians, and this was confirmed by Thornton's servant, who had spent many years of his life in this part of the country. Labour is very dear, and for what little corn they grow they find a ready vent. We asked them over and over again what they



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received for a day's work at Taganrog, but could get no satisfactory account; sometimes their masters received it, sometimes they themselves; sometimes it was a ruble, sometimes a few copeks. Almost all the land is in the possession of government.

"Ivanovna, where we arrived on the morning of the 30th, is one of the principal villages. There was a fair here of felt, cattle, linen, gauze, &c. We observed that many of the inhabitants were Jews. These people are common in Muscovy, but in Malo Russia are numerous, though not so much so as in Poland. At Charkof almost all the inns and kabaks are kept by Jews; they all speak German.

"At the distance of about ninety versts to the left of Ivanovna, is the foundry of Lugan, conducted by Sir Charles Gascoigne, who has a house there, where he frequently passes his summers. We were prevented from seeing this foundry, and therefore were obliged to content ourselves with the scanty information we could pick up. No iron is produced on the spot, but, as at Tula, all is brought from Siberia. There is a mine of coal near it resembling that of Scotland. Pallas, in his account of the Crimea, maintains that it is unable to bear the action of bellows, and is, consequently, useless in the forge. Baron Camperhausen assured us, however, that this difficulty had been surmounted by a more diligent examination of the mine. Indeed, charcoal or wood must be immensely dear, so that no fabric could exist without the aid of pit-coal. This fabric is employed by government in forging arms, cannon, &c. for the Crimea, Black Sea, Caspian Sea, and Siberia, for all which places it is conveniently situated. Old honey-combed guns are broken into small fragments at Sebastopol, and sent to Taganrog by sea; from whence to Lugan, where they are cast, the carriage is short and easy. Many English are employed in this foundry.

"Several small bodies of Pagan Calmuks wander during the summer on all this steppe. After leaving Ivanovna there are few habitations to be seen, except the half-buried huts of the Cossaks who are stationed for the post. The last post-house before Tagan-

rog is like all the posts on the steppe, an excavation in the side of a bank ; it adjoins a ferry on the river, which is the road to Marinopol. Our road branched off to the left up a pretty steep though not high hill, almost at the summit of which was a well, which our drivers extolled as being excellent water. This hope (a very flattering one to people who had been some days drinking puddle on the steppe) was not disappointed. The country was still bare of leaves, except a little appearance on the willows ; the whole plain in a deep mire, and every thing dismal. We saw for the first time vast numbers of the suslik, a small animal which I believe belongs to the hamster, and consequently to the marmot class. Its external form more resembles the ferret, especially when they sit erect at their holes ; they burrow deep in the ground, and the peasants complain bitterly of them as destructive to the corn. Their cry resembles a man whistling with a key at his mouth. The peasants all said the only way to catch them was by pouring water into their holes, which uniformly drove them out. They are, indeed, very difficult marks for a gun, and they take shelter in their burrows with great nimbleness. Once, however, I saw an instance of one being fascinated, to all appearance, by a man's eye, and remaining immovable, yet trembling, and whistling loud in great alarm, till the man was almost close to it ; so close, that I thought it possible to set his foot on it. The Calmuks, we are told, are fond of their flesh, but the Cossaks spoke of it with aversion ; the hamster is, however, sometimes eaten by the gipseys in Hungary. The multitude of these creatures, for the country is stocked like a rabbit-warren, draws together a great many eagles of but small size, and almost rivalled by the great buzzard, of which we saw numbers, and of both of which the suslik forms the principal food. In the track we pursued we saw none of these little animals, till we got into the government of Taganrog. This extends only about ten miles inland, and over the north coast of the Sea of Azoph ; to the north and east it is bounded by the Don Cossaks ; to the west the Nogays have still a nominal Khan, who has a fixed residence in a large village to the west of Marinopol. I was told by Camperhausen,

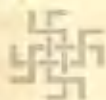


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that in 1805, an ordinance had passed, to make the Tartars bear arms, on the same footing as the Cossaks. I could never exactly ascertain the numbers of the Nogays; they cultivate a great deal of corn, as we were told by Mr. Dalmas, a French merchant at Taganrog, but I could not learn what became of it¹. There is none exported from Taganrog; and Camperhausen and Dalmas, who had both been often through their country to Perekop, agreed that the Nogays themselves consumed but very little, and disliked bread as an article of food. They extend from Marinopol to near Perekop, along the coast of the sea of Zabascha. Their tents, of which I saw one or two, or at least the frames of them, differ from those of the Calmuks, as being more clumsy, and never taken to pieces, but are carried about on cars. This usage they seem to have borrowed from the primitive Scythian population. Their own kindred, the Calmuks, have much larger tents, and much better adapted to a country where wood is scarce; and being easily taken to pieces, are transported from spot to spot with greater facility on camels. The Nogays, in fact, train their camels to the yoke, for which they are ill qualified, and the practice of which is unknown, by what I could learn, among all the Mongul tribes in Asia. The Calmuk tent, too, is shaped externally like a European bell-tent without the long ropes, while that of the Nogay resembles a beehive; both are made nearly of the same materials, and I could not help fancying that the Nogays had the Mongul tent placed on the old Scythian kибitka. The Russians call the tent of the Calmuk and Nogay 'kibitka' alike, though to the last only the name is at all applicable. In other respects, the few Nogays whom I saw betrayed a great mixture with Tartar and, I thought, with European population; they are taller and finer men than the Calmuks. We heard much of their horsemanship, and of their eating raw flesh. The last I had never an opportunity of verifying; the first I saw something of near Perekop.

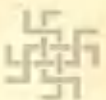
"The climate varies very greatly between the steppe and

¹ We afterwards saw, at Phanagoria, four vessels with corn from Marinopol.



Taganrog; in the latter place the spring we were told was ten days earlier; yet on our approach to the sea of Azoph we saw masses of ice still floating in it, some as big as a large dining table. The hill we had now ascended is part of a branch of rather high land which runs from the steppe, and terminates in the round bluff point of Taganrog, which was now lying before us and almost under us. The harbour as yet only presented a few unfortunate vessels which had been detained by the ice; they were all, at least all that were in sight, two-masted and European built. The sea, though we could plainly distinguish its termination to the south-east (a low indistinct line of coast on which Azoph stands) had still to us, who had been so long inland, a very magnificent appearance, and we could hardly help calling out, *θαλαττα, θαλαττα*.

“ The down we were on was all grass; it sloped gradually to a plain almost on the level of the sea on our left hand; on the right it seemed extensive; no part appeared to be cultivated, and the whole surface was teeming with susliks. The situation of Taganrog or ‘the cape of the tea-kettle,’ so called from the form of the rock on which the fortress stands, struck us as rather imposing. It is a round bluff promontory of no great height, with a pentagonal fort now ruined, though it still retains a garrison of one company, on the garrison establishment, of a hundred and sixty men. It contains a Church, some miserable barracks, and a wooden hut which Baron Camperhausen turned into a club-room; there is also a room used for dancing, very ill furnished and with no ornament but a Turkish looking-glass, and a smaller place like a coach-office, where the Moniteur and some other French and German papers are taken in. Under the east side of the fort is a small mole now almost choked with mud; on the north-west is a high down where the inhabitants have their promenades on Sundays, and where is the lazaretto; on the north, and sloping down the east side of the hill, is the town, with tolerably broad streets built at right angles, two Russian and one Greek Church. Beyond this there extends a row of warehouses on the shore, and at a little distance further are two houses surrounded with a few



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Dutch elms and willows, the only trees in the neighbourhood; the warm snug side of the hill beyond is occupied with vineyards, chiefly the property of the Greeks, and with three considerable distilleries of brandy. The intense cold of the winters of 1802, 3, and 4, destroyed the vineyards entirely; some of them we were told were beginning to recover, but they were never very profitable. The houses among the willows were occupied, one by the governor, Baron Camperhausen, the other by Madame Cashparoff, an Armenian; from the gallery of this last house Pallas' view of Taganrog is taken.

“ On entering the town we were struck by the multitude of well dressed persons in the Cossak habit, who appeared to be returning from market; we had before seen only the miserable wretches at the posts on the steppe. We drove to a Greek coffee-house which was so small and dirty that our stomachs revolted at it, and after much enquiry we got lodgings with the bailiff of the town, who had a large wooden house adjoining to his own, which he let annually to the Russian and Cossak traders who frequented the fair; this fair, as it may be properly called, is at its height about midsummer. From November to March the sea is frozen and navigation is seldom safe earlier than April; as soon as the ice is supposed to have past, a small vessel is sent from Taganrog to Kertch, and *vice versa*; after this signal the navigation commences. From April to midsummer a south-west wind prevails very steadily, which greatly increases the depth of water, and favours the arrival of vessels. About midsummer the water is generally deepest, when the sea is crowded with small vessels; the harbour admits but few. Vessels may then lie tolerably near the shore; at other times ships of two hundred tons are compelled to lie in the open sea fifteen versts (ten miles) from the shore. In autumn the sea of Azoph is often no more than fourteen feet at its greatest depth. From Taganrog to Azoph is a shoal, or continuation of shoals, with hardly seven feet water, and in some places only five. The number of vessels is generally from six to seven hundred. Of these, about one hundred and fifty or two hundred are small craft

from Trebizond and Sinope, which bring 'nardek,' a marmalade of grapes, and 'bekmiss,' a sirup made from various fruits by boiling them with honey. Raisins of the sun are also brought in great quantities; all these are used in the distilleries. Since the destruction of the vineyards by the late hard winters, the bekmiss has become more necessary. The spirit thus produced is sold all over the empire as French brandy. The Greeks of the Archipelago bring chiefly wine, of a very poor sort, which is also used in the distilleries. Of these Greeks about one-third carry the Russian flag; but as our friend Dalmas said, '*Mauvais Russe, mauvais Pavillon.*' They are of very bad character, and very poor. Any Greek who would purchase a house and land, became at once a Russian subject, and enjoyed their protection. The real Russian traders are very few; the European traders were Italian, Ragusan, Austrian, and Dalmatian, and in 1805 a few French, but under English colours, and with Maltese crews. These bring French wines, and German and English cloth, and carry back fish and iron; hemp and cloth too are brought from Kursk and Charkof, and from their neighbourhood. These heavy commodities are carried down on sledges in the winter, at which time also the greatest fishery is carried on. The Don and sea of Azoph are very abundant in fish, which are of the same kind as those of the Volga; sterlet is common here, and sometimes very large. At Petersburg it is considered a great rarity, and a soup made of it has been known to cost four or five hundred rubles. Potemkin, when in Moldavia, sent an aid-de-camp to a celebrated cook at Moscow to bring him a pot of his soup, which was sent sealed up with the cook's seal and name on the lid. The sterlet has its mouth placed like a flounder's. The sturgeon is also very common, as well as the large species here called 'bieluga,' or white fish, which is sometimes fourteen feet long. A large white fish, called 'sudak,' is the common food of the lower classes, and is the principal species exported. When the season for the fishing arrives, holes are made in the ice at small distances, and the net passed under from each of these to the next in succession by means of a pole, until a large tract is



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enclosed. Christmas is consequently as busy a time as midsummer, and a mild winter is ruinous. It is then that the Russ merchants bring their commodities, which are purchased by the factors resident at the place. This is, however, but a small part of the trade, in comparison with what it derives from the salt, fish, tallow, beef, &c. furnished from the Don, to which, as things at present stand, it is the port. The merchandize brought from Voronezh comes down to Rostof in barks which will not bear the sea, but are broken up there; their cargoes are again embarked in lighters, which convey them to Taganrog and to the ships in the Road. As the wind changes to the east, and the water grows shallower, they get farther and farther out to sea, and are often obliged to sail without having completed their cargo. This singular kind of monsoon takes place almost every year after midsummer; the governor said it seldom failed. Storms are not uncommon; and the navigation is considered as very unsafe, by reason of the numerous shoals and the want of shelter. Marinopol, Arabat, and some other coves are only deep enough for lighters.

“ Taganrog was built by Peter the Great, who was, however, obliged to give it up to the Turks, as well as Azoph and all the territory as far as Rostof and Baemuth, by the peace signed at Pruth. Catherine, in the first Turkish war, repossessed herself of these places, as well as of the island and fortress of Taman; and Taganrog was again likely to flourish had not Potemkin thrown every obstacle in the way, in order to favour Cherson, his own creation. He refused it a quarantine; and when Catherine was at Cherson, and expressed a wish to visit Taganrog and the mouths of the Don, Potemkin opposed himself very warmly to her intention. Yet she often seems to have thought about this place, and mentions it in one of her letters to Voltaire. After Potemkin's disgrace, Catherine showed it many marks of favour, both as having been founded by Peter the Great, and as being then the only harbour within a moderate distance of the Don. At present the establishment of Caffa, and its becoming a free port, has made the question of the utility of Taganrog more than doubtful; the quarantine is now

indulged to it as far as relates to all goods not liable to infection ('contumace').

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"All vessels are examined at Kertch before they enter the sea of Azoph; such as are loaded with woollen stuffs, which includes all coming from Europe, must perform quarantine either there or at Caffa; the rest, which are loaded entirely with fruit, wine, &c., are allowed to proceed direct to Taganrog, where they perform quarantine. It has been lately proposed to government, by the merchants of Caffa, to establish a lighterage direct from Rostof to Arabat, whence there is a short passage by land to Caffa. This course, they say, was that taken by the Genoese and Greeks with the ancient Russians, whose wicker boats came to Arabat without fear or danger. They support their cause by arguments drawn from the shallowness of the sea of Azoph, the difficulties of the strait of Janicale, &c.; and add that if vessels are allowed to go to Taganrog without a previous quarantine, the facilities of communicating with the land must not only give great room for contraband trade, which in other respects would be injurious, and in so narrow a sea impossible to prevent, but might even introduce the plague into the heart of Russia. They were, therefore, strongly against a quarantine at Taganrog, as being dangerous and expensive; urging also that the lighters which now carried the goods from Rostof to Taganrog, would equally well carry them the whole distance to Arabat, which would be a great nursery for seamen. This plan would almost entirely destroy the trade of Taganrog, as during the time that vessels are lying in quarantine, they unload their goods in warehouses appointed for that purpose, and much less time is, therefore, lost, than if they were obliged to perform the quarantine at any but their final destination. The inhabitants have endeavoured to parry this attack, which, if it had succeeded, must have sunk Taganrog into a port of cabotage, merely exporting hemp and corn to Arabat, and importing iron from Lugan, by urging that the circumstances of the Greek merchants on the one hand, and of the Cossak and Russian traders on the other, their small capitals and want of mutual confidence, will not admit of the

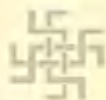


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intermediate race of factors and correspondents required by the Arabat scheme; and that all the business of Taganrog is transacted *viva voce*, and without the long credit which would be extremely inconvenient to both parties. They also urge that the fruits, wines, and marmalades brought in the Greek vessels, are not 'contumace,' and are of a nature to suffer exceedingly by being disembarked, and can in no case bear a carriage over land; the wine, in particular, is contained in very large and very thin casks, into which it is pumped after they are stowed in the vessels. They plead the cruelty of ruining an ancient Russ town, the creation of Peter the Great, and suggest the consideration that it is found in America, that those ports are most advantageous to the country which have the most inland situation. Much petitioning on both sides had taken place; and General Fanshaw, governor of Caffa, had been residing many months at Petersburg, exerting all his influence in favour of his schemes. About the time we arrived here, the limited quarantine which I have mentioned, was granted to Taganrog, and government promised a gift of 100,000 rubles to General Fanshaw to establish a bank at Caffa and a port at Arabat, and had also promised 500 oxen to be employed in the land carriage from Arabat to Caffa.

"The quarantine of Taganrog is partly held under tents, and partly in some huts open on the northern side, on a point a little to the west of the fort. One of these huts, which is appropriated to the examination of new comers by the physician, is furnished with two strong wooden grates, through which he sees and interrogates them without fear of infection. Every thing in the town showed apparent poverty and disadvantage of situation. The European merchants or supercargoes, for few of them traded on their own account, were dirty, vulgar, and ill-informed, and evidently detested the place; they were mostly Ragusans, and of bad character. At the door of one of these men we observed, as we were walking with M. Dalmas, a very fine girl, neatly dressed, who had, he told us, been sold to this Albanian, as his mistress, by her owner, a gentleman from the province of Onega. This is as com-

plete slave-trade as any on earth ; but it is an evasion, and a very common one, of the laws which forbid foreigners to purchase slaves. The town is, in a great measure, peopled by Greeks, who have a large Church, where service is performed in the 'Ellenisky,' as they call the ancient language. The modern Greek is called 'Romaïsky.' The society is, of course, small ; the principal people are the governor, a really well-informed man ; Madame Cashparof, (an Armenian,) widow to a late governor of Georgiessk, who, with an old German who lived in her house, had drawn together a kind of literary club of neighbours ; Mon. Dalmas, and a Russian Lieutenant-general Tregoubof, an intelligent man, who had lately become a merchant, a very unusual thing for a Russian field-officer to do, and possessed several ships. He complained that so great was the general uncertainty and apprehension of violent measures which England was expected to take, that he could get no insurance at Odessa or Caffa to extend beyond the Archipelago. Madame Cashparof is the daughter of Lazarof, the owner of the famous diamond purchased by Alexy Orlof for Catherine, and niece to Lazarof, the very rich Armenian merchant at Moscow. She was born at Astrachan, where the Armenians have their head-quarters ; their sect is highly favoured in Russia, being permitted every where to build Churches, and even to make their processions publicly through the streets. Madame Cashparof gave us several particulars respecting the Scotch missionaries at Georgiessk ; they are to the number of thirty, men and women. The principal person among them is named Brunton, whom she described as a man of abilities, and, in particular, as possessing great power of acquiring languages. He had made very extraordinary progress in the Russian and Circassian tongues ; had been in many parts of the world as missionary ; and had with him a young negro whom he represented to be the son of an African king, who had entrusted him to his care for education. They had suffered greatly by disease and the dearness of all the necessaries of life, and were kept in frequent alarm by the Tcherkesses, on whom their labours had produced very little effect. Madame Cashparof spoke of this little colony, particularly



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of Brunton, and a Mr. Paterson, with much praise, both of their industry and respectable character. Georgiessk is about seven hundred versts from Tcherkask ; it is in a magnificent situation at the foot of the Caucasus ; near it are the famous hot-baths. The Circassians of the horde of Little Kabarda are allied with Russia, but those of the other tribes are mostly hostile. Madame Cashparof and a few others spoke good English, and Thornton heard a common Greek sailor in the streets speaking it fluently.

“ Every thing at Taganrog is dear but corn and fish ; firing remarkably so ; a pile of faggots, one faggot thick and one square arskine in surface cost thirty rubles. The usual fuel is reeds, or a long species of bent grass ; and even this is very costly, and gives little heat. Manual labour and free-servants of all kinds are excessively dear.

“ While we were here we had an opportunity of seeing the ceremonies of the eve of Palm Sunday ; all the priests in the town and neighbourhood assembled at some little distance from the town, with their banners, crosses, and religious pictures ; about two hundred people attended, a few with branches in their hands ; the rest, in default of branches, with bundles of grass, and went in slow procession, singing hymns, to the principal Church. There was much crowd and much crossing and bowing, but no great appearance of devotion. We found these people much stricter in their observance of Lent than any of the northern Russians ; yet, though we could only procure fish at the governor’s and Madame Cashparof’s, sucking pigs were sold openly in the market in vast quantities. They were thus sold to prepare for Easter, when every Russ family kills a pig ; a singular kind of anti-Jewish passover. The population of Taganrog can hardly equal two thousand persons.



CHAPTER VII.

TAGANROG TO TCHERKASK.

Commodities of New Russia—Climate—Cossaks—Lent—View from Okhasi—Donskoy Cossaks—Rostof—Fishing of the Don—Armenian settlement at Nakitchivan—Colonel Abraamof—Armenians—Axy—Calmuk tents—Dance of the ring—Tcherkask—Inundation—Cathedral—Bazar—Mahomedans—Platof the Cossak—Manners and appearance of the Cossaks—Government—Armies of the Don—Zaporogian Cossaks—Territory of the Cossaks of the Don—Armies—Education—Shooting party—Sepulchral crosses—Eastern ceremonies—Donskoy wine—Morasses below Tcherkask—Flooded country—Story of Circassian prince.

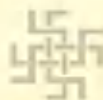
To Richard Heber, Esq.

*“ Okhasi, half way between Tcherkask and Azof,
April 7, 1806.*

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ I PROMISED in my letter to my mother from Taganrog to report progress again from Theodosia (*ci-devant* Kaffa.) An accidental delay of a night in one of the stanitzas of the Don Cossaks, in whose country, indeed, such delays are very frequent, gives me another opportunity of writing home, which I am unwilling to lose; especially as, from the irregularity of the post in these remote provinces, a letter of reserve is almost always prudent. I mentioned slightly in my last letter, our leaving Moscow, our being lost in the snow, our hospitable reception in the house of Princess Dashkof, and our delays, at first from deep and afterwards from melted snow; the hospitality we met with at Tula, and afterwards at Charkof. The first of these places is chiefly remarkable for its extensive govern-

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ment forges, where 1200 musquets are made every week. The number of workmen is about 3,500. The iron is all brought on sledges from Siberia. We found in the manager's deputy a very sensible plain man, who spoke English, and had served his apprenticeship in London. In the armory are piled a great number of arms of all forms and weights, according to the whims of Commanders-in-chief; for the cut of a bayonet here changes its fashion as often as a light-horse uniform in our own country. Since the time of Potemkin, five or six modes have all, in their turn, become unfashionable. The weapons of Paul's reign are prodigiously heavy and large; some of the swords are almost unmanageable. Since the late action, the present emperor has sent down a model which seems very good. It is like our usual musquets, and the bayonet fits on in a secure and ingenious way; in other points it resembles the Prussian pieces.

"When I mention the distance from which the iron is brought, you may conceive the advantage derived to Russia from the steady continuance of the frost, which creates a kind of natural and universal rail-road. While the sledge roads continue, a single horse can draw with ease a ton weight from one extremity of the empire to the other; a wonderful means of communication, which effectually compensates for the distance from the sea, and the difficulties of their internal navigation from ice, floods, and extreme drought, which follow close on the heels of each other. We had heard much of the fertility and population of the country through which we were to pass; the first more than answered our expectations, the soil being in many places as complete manure as one can see.

"The population is, I think, inferior to that on the borders of the Volga, which, to a traveller, is a much more interesting country, though an agriculturist would perhaps prefer the ploughed and naked hills of Koursk and Orel. Every thing which we have seen in the south of Russia appears of modern construction, and, except to the north of Tula, nothing exists which is not the erection of the Empress Catherine. There are no Tartar forts; no ancient convents or Churches; nor any of the marks of long-rooted wealth which

appear between Moscow and Kostroma. Their place is but ill-supplied by arcades of painted wood, pillars of stones, pyramids of lath and plaister, and mean timber houses arranged in wide streets and regular squares. These plans were chiefly given by the empress during her journey to Cherson ; and though the effect at present is not good, will certainly, in process of time, people Russia with most magnificent towns. To the prosperity of the southern parts nothing seems to have been wanted but a vent for their commodities, which is now obtained by Odessa, and by the little town of Taganrog.

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This, as well as the Crimea and the other conquests of Potemkin, labour, as yet, under all the disadvantages of infant settlements, while the excessive scarcity of timber forms another inconvenience, from which such settlements are generally exempt. On the other hand, they have the unusual good fortune of being, in some measure, the natural outlet of the mother-country, all the great rivers of Russia, the Dwina excepted, falling into the Black Sea ; and though the canal of Vishni connects the Volga with the Ladoga, yet, as the stream of the former is exceedingly rapid, all bulky articles can, at a much less cost, be brought southward than northward. This, with the recent discovery of coals, and the canal which will certainly one day be executed between the Don and the Volga, will produce wonderful effects, though not, I think, so great as some sanguine rivals of Petersburg and Riga have endeavoured to prove. The native commodities of New Russia are only fish and corn ; the sweetmeats and brandy, of which they make vast quantities, are chiefly produced from the grapes and fruits imported from Trebizond and Sinope. The climate, notwithstanding its southern latitude, fully answers to Ovid's complaint of the Bosphorus and Palus Mæotis, which are indeed barely salt-water, and are still annually frozen over. It is during this frost that their greatest fishery is carried on by means of holes in the ice, under which they drag the net ; a mild winter is almost ruin to Taganrog. The neighbouring villages stink of



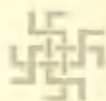
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fish so much, that we were a good deal reminded of Drontheim ; and the case grew worse and worse as we advanced to the banks of the Don. The quantities of fish in this river absolutely exceed belief, though the present is not the season for the fishery ; they may be in some spots ladled out with scoop-nets. The Cossak villages are built close to the water, and at present are almost all flooded ; many miles of low-land are overflowed every spring, and where the waters are subsiding, present a horrible view of morasses and reeds. These last are very valuable to the inhabitants, being, in fact, their only fuel. The Cossaks are all in easy circumstances ; they are freeholders ; and, as a nation of soldiers, are exempt from most taxes. They are better dressed than the Russians, and, what is seldom the case with fishermen, are cleanly in their persons and houses. They are all '*starovertzi*,' (old believers, as they call themselves,) though the Russians tax them as '*roskolniki*,' (schismatics,) and are much warmer in their zeal than any persons we have before met with. In general, the Russians, though they keep Lent strictly themselves, do not care how foreigners act ; but at Taganrog, when Thornton asked for a fowl, he received a look as if he had desired to have St. John's head in a charger. Milk, eggs, and butter are strictly prohibited ; and the more religious people even hold fish in abhorrence. Their own food at this season consists chiefly of pickled mushrooms, onions, and wheat or millet fried in oil.

" We have been employed this morning in examining an Armenian settlement, to the number of some thousand families, who have built a town under the name of Nakitchivan, and carry on a considerable commerce, preserving the language and habits of their country. A pretty widow of Taganrog, who speaks English, and is herself an Armenian, the widow of a late Russian governor of Georgiessk, gave us a letter for the principal man in the town, a Mr. Abraamof, who has served in the army and has the rank of a lieutenant-colonel. His son, a little boy of ten years old, spoke French and was our interpreter. We were pressed to stay all night ; but our time is precious, as the heats of the Crimea are fast approaching. We had hoped to get to Tcherkask to-night, but

we found the road flooded, and the boatmen refused to take us till to-morrow morning. It is too much trouble they say, and they will not lose a night's rest for any foreigner living. This town is a singular mixture of Cossak houses and the black felt tents of the Calmuks, all fishermen, and with their habitations almost thrust into the river. From the windows of the public-house where I am writing the view is very singular and pleasing. The moon is risen, and throws a broad glare of light over the Don, which is here so widely overflowed that the opposite bank is scarcely visible; the foreground is a steep limestone hill covered with cottages and circular tents; and we hear on every side the mingled characteristic sounds of the singing of the boatmen on the river, the barking of the large ferocious Calmuk dogs, which, in all these countries, are suffered to prowl about during the night, blended with the low monotonous chant of the Cossak women, who are enjoying the fine evening and dancing in a large circle in the streets. The form of the dance exactly resembles that of Moldavia, and is not very different from what is called by the modern Greeks 'the dance of Ariadne,' described by Lady Craven.

"*Tcherkask, April 8th.*—We arrived here this morning at eleven o'clock, after being punted with long poles over flooded meadows for about ten miles. The town is, as usual at this season, mostly under water, and as we approached it had something of the air of Venice. The houses are all of wood built on piles, raised above the ground or rather bog, and connected with each other by a kind of wooden bridge. No one but a race of fishermen or pirates would have chosen so unwholesome a spot; to the ancient Cossaks, who were both characters at once, it was certainly convenient. The Churches are very magnificent, adorned with numberless treasures and military spoils. I have never seen, even at Moscow, a greater profusion of pearls; all the pictures, chandeliers, and even the Altars are loaded with them. The appearance of the town and people is very novel, the Cossak dress being universally worn, even by the judges and civil officers. Our stay here will not be long, the *attaman* (or '*hetman*,' as he



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is corruptly called in most foreign books) being out of town. We have, however, found a friend in the grand procurator, who speaks French, and is by birth a Pole. We are very conveniently and cleanly lodged. The police-officer has promised us a non-commissioned officer to be our guide this evening to a horde of Calmuks, who live in the neighbourhood; and to-morrow I believe we shall continue our journey to the Crimea by the Cuban and the Bosphorus. Our arrival in this district has happened at rather an unfortunate time; had we been a little later we should have seen the Palus Mæotis covered with vessels,—six or seven hundred sail arriving every summer at Taganrog, and the whole river from Tcherkask to Azoph being like a crowded fair. We shall, however, see the Crimea to more advantage, and, what is still better, we shall be a month sooner at home.

“ Your affectionate brother,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

TAGANROG TO TCHERKASK.

“ In the evening of the *6th April*, being Palm Sunday, according to the Russian calendar, we quitted Taganrog, and passed along the coast, through a tolerably populous country, to Rostof, where we arrived the next morning. As we here re-entered the territories of the Donskoy Cossaks, we were obliged to send our passports to the commandant, and had a long delay about the proper countersigning of our padorashna, as the attaman and the commandant were both to be consulted. On our return to the carriages we had a dispute with the postilion, who, because we had only a single padorashna, insisted for a long time on putting all the seven horses to one carriage; it is of great importance to travellers to have every particular exactly stated in their padorashna.

“ Rostof, sometimes called San Dmitri Krepost, from the saint to whom the fortress is dedicated, is a small and ill-built town, but a place of very important trade. Here it is that the barks from Voronetz are broken up, and the goods embarked from Taganrog.

We saw about sixty lighters lying in the river, many large enough to perform the voyage to Arabat. Some of these, which we pointed out, they told us had made voyages all the way to Caffa. There is a large brewery, producing very detestable beer and porter; the distilleries are numerous, and, if we understood right, pay no duties unless the spirit be sent inland. The banks of the Don are covered above by vineyards, and below by stinking sudak, a large fish, drying in the sun. Fish are caught in great abundance and variety. The principal kinds are, beluga, sturgeon, sterlet, and sudak. There are also myriads of Prussian carp which, with all the refuse fish, are heaped up in great dunghills among the black circular tents of the Calmuks. The Cossaks, pay no duty on salt, if it be for their own consumption. The fortress is just above the town; it is extensive but ill situated, there being a deep valley within two hundred yards of it, where a besieger would be perfectly covered from its fire, and could make his approaches at his ease. In it is a small garrison, and a school kept by an old Frenchman of the name of André. He had about twenty pupils, who were taught French, German, writing and geography; they were all very little boys. We had a letter to the master, and found an old man in a sheep-skin, which would have turned the stomach of a *mushick*, sitting down to dinner with his flock; he did not ask us to partake, of which, indeed, we had no great desire, as, from the few questions we asked, he seemed to know little more of the country than ourselves.

“A verst (by land,) from the fort of Rostof, is a large Armenian town called Nakitchivan, after the ancient town of that name. We spent the evening in looking over it. They affirmed that it contains 1500 families, which I think barely possible; they are chiefly manufacturers in steel and leather, and are, apparently, industrious and prosperous. The town contains four Churches, and two very large bazars, which are much crowded. We had a letter to one of the principal inhabitants, who had the rank of Colonel, and whose son was one of M. André's pupils, and our interpreter. His name was Abraamof. I found that Armenians usually expressed their names in this manner, from the



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Christian names of their parents, yet with the termination in 'of,' which is a mark of gentility. This man had two sons in the Russian navy, and possessed the reputation of great wealth. He knew the Lazarof who sold Orlof the great diamond, and described in strong terms the misery and anxiety which the Armenian felt while it remained in his possession. His house was well furnished, and had a billiard-table, and many other European luxuries ; all the family, however, sat cross-legged, except the master, whose dress also was something after the European mode. He had several curious sabres and poignards richly ornamented, which he exhibited with much pride. He said that himself and the greater part of his fellow-townsmen had emigrated from the Crimea during the disturbances there ; that they had this situation given them, and a charter, by which they had the same privileges as their countrymen at Astrachan. The principal trade of the town is in leather. They are a very handsome people, have universally black curling hair, fair and fresh complexions, fine eyes, and generally aquiline noses, but with a Jewish expression in their countenance. The women are almost all veiled ; but those we caught a glimpse of were extremely beautiful ; their veils were very carelessly disposed, and they betrayed no timidity. The Russians declare that they have all a natural unpleasant odour, like that we attribute to the Jews. They dislike them greatly, and have a proverb, ' two Jews equal one Armenian ; two Armenians one Greek ; two Greeks one devil.' The Armenians, it is well known, are a very favoured sect by the Russian government ; and many of the noblest families have a mixture of their blood. Of these are Dolgorucky and Bagration. Paul the First gave the title of ' Knæs' to great numbers of Armenians, and permitted to all a free-trade and settlement, with full liberty of worship, and even of making their processions openly. They have a magnificent Church in Petersburg, and many in Astrachan and Casan. Their enterprise and activity are well known. Mr. Anderson, of Petersburg, told me he knew one who had been twice to Bassora, and once to Samarcand and Tibet. I asked Abraamof if such journeys were common, and if they could take a European with them as their servant, or in any other dis-

guise. He answered both these questions in the affirmative. He himself had been in Georgia and many parts of Turkey, but never farther.

“ Thornton played a game at billiards with Abraamof, and he, very civilly, offered us beds; but it was in Lent, and he gave us nothing but tea without cream, and dry bread; so that hunger conspired with our eagerness to get on to induce us to take our leave the same evening. We observed several Mahomedans—at least persons in green turbans, which no Armenian would wear—but unfortunately we only saw them after we had taken leave of our host, and had no one to ask about them.

“ On the evening of the 9th of April we proceeded to a large village about half-way between Nakitchivan and Tcherkask, called Axy, in a very singular and picturesque situation, containing about one hundred and fifty houses, and one hundred Calmuk tents, all dirty, and wretched, and stinking with fish. There were many barks and lighters in its ports, and it has a large and handsome Church; the Churches among the Don Cossaks are generally rich and handsome, and well kept up. We passed the night in a very decent kabak with a billiard table, and a room adorned with many German engravings, and the English print of the death of Chevalier Bayard. The Cossaks, having never heard of the ‘*Chevalier sans reproche*,’ called it the death of Darius; on my asking if Bourbon was Alexandro Macedonskoy, they answered, to my surprise, that he was not present at Darius’s death, and showed themselves better acquainted with his history than one could have expected. Alexander himself could scarcely have hoped that his fame should be so generally diffused, as to become the favourite hero in a village of warlike barbarians on the northern banks of the Tanais. I had here an opportunity of observing, what we had, indeed, occasionally seen in some other villages of Malo-Russia, the dance of the ring, a very favourite one among the women, who alone dance it, accompanying their motions with a low plaintive song; it consists in hiding a ring and hunting for it, something like our ‘hunt the slipper.’ Some parts of the figure much



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resemble the 'Polonaise rondo.' The most common dance in Great Russia, is performed by two persons, and is one of the most beautiful successions of elegant attitudes I have ever seen, except in antiques.

"The whole north part of the Don is populous; the greater part of the Delta was still overflowed from the melting of the snow; and we were obliged to make the rest of our journey to Tcherkask the next morning in a bark. Tcherkask, the capital of the Cossaks of the Don, is an ancient and considerable town, and one of the most singular in the world; it stands on some marshy islands in the river, and so low that three-fourths of the houses are annually under water; they are built on wooden pillars, and the communication from one to another is preserved by a kind of gallery or balcony, also raised on posts and running before the houses. It is excellently suited to the piracies and fishery of the ancient Cossaks; but its situation is so exceedingly unwholesome, that the emperor has begun a new town on the high land on the northern bank of the river, behind the ruins of Fort Anna. The people are, however, obstinately attached to their ancient spot. When we saw it, every part was flooded except the principal street, the great Church, and the market-place; and the wooden cabins, mixed with the domes of Churches, tops of trees, and Calmuk tents, had an interesting effect just rising from the water. The sudak still continued to poison the air; but the houses, notwithstanding the people are all fishers, are neat; the Cossaks are, certainly, a much cleaner race than the Russians.

"There is a spacious and ancient Cathedral nearly on the same plan as the Casan Church at Moscow, with a high tower detached from the rest of the building, which, at a distance, gives a faint recollection of St. Mary's spire at Oxford. There are many other Churches full of very costly ornaments. I never saw so many pearls at once as on the head of a Madonna in the Cathedral; these treasures are the spoils of Turkey and Poland. To the east of the Cathedral is a large basin which seems intended to preserve the barks and lighters during inundations; it is divided

from the main stream and opens into a smaller arm of the river which flows through the town, and is crossed by a wooden bridge. A little to the west is a spacious square where the government-house, a handsome and large building, stands. Further still are the bazars, a large square of wooden buildings of only one floor, with wooden arcades on the outside, and intersected by several narrow and dark passages. Beyond are the houses with the connecting galleries and the bridges, with a mixture of Churches on every spot of solid ground. The river had a great many vessels on it, and many which were calculated to go to Taman or Caffa.

“ The shops contained many articles of showy but coarse furniture, bad English prints, tawdry looking-glasses, &c. which a good deal resembled the taste of our English sailors; and there was in many of the houses a sort of vulgar showy style of ornament which corresponded to this impression. Their uniforms, indeed, showed the same fondness for ornament, as well as the women’s dresses, and the boats belonging to the attaman, master of police, &c. which were very neatly gilded and carved.

“ Tcherkask has a large and rather handsome town-house on the edge of the river; all the persons we saw belonging to it wore the summer uniform of jacket and trousers; the winter uniform is a blue kaftan, like that of the ordinary Russians. Both dresses are very costly, of English cloth, and embroidered with silver, with a silver epaulette on the left shoulder, worn even by the non-commissioned officers and privates¹. All this gaudy furniture, as well as their arms and horses, is found at their own expence. There are in one quarter of the town, to the north-east of the bridge, a good many Mahomedan families, who are subject to the same laws and regulations as the other Cossaks. The women seemed to have very little apprehension of showing their faces, and the veil was often thrown over the back of the head; the men were stronglimbed, with Tartar, not Calmuk, countenances. They have a

¹ One regiment which we saw afterwards under General Nicholson at Tulchin in Poland, had a magnificent scarlet pelisse embroidered with gold.



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mean wooden mosque. Green, which ought to be the peculiar colour of the descendants of Mohamed, is here worn by all the imams and even by others. The Calmuk population in and near Tcherkask is considerable; a great many families live on the hills between it and Lugan. One tribe is very considerable, having a mirza and a grand lama. We made many attempts to procure a guide to conduct us to them; but the distance, we were told, was great; and owing to the stupidity of the people in Tcherkask, we failed in all our plans and hopes of finding some one who knew in what part of the steppe they were. The Calmuk servants are greatly esteemed all over Russia for their fidelity and intelligence.

“Most of the richer Cossaks have houses in Tcherkask, which they make their metropolis, but pass the greater part of their time in their farms on the northern bank of the river. Platof, the attaman, said he kept there two hundred brood mares. He had, however, no land in tillage, though he possessed a vineyard, a little to the east of Axy. Of the wine produced by these vineyards, they vaunted greatly. The best always struck me as being mixed with Greek wine, or raisins. The ordinary wines are very poor and tasteless; spirits are cheap and much drunk. Platof himself took a glass of brandy with a spoonful of salt in it, as if brandy was hardly strong enough.

“The manners of the people struck us from their superiority to the Russians in honesty and dignity. A lieutenant at Petersburg, who once begged alms from us, bowed himself to the ground and knocked his head on the floor. A lieutenant here who was imprisoned and also begged, made the request in a manly and dignified manner, and thanked us as if we had been his comrades. We found, too, the demands for lodging and for articles in the shops were reasonable, and that they were not, as in Russia, in the habit of cheapening commodities. We had already observed that a Cossak postilion would drive no faster than his usual custom, and was, on this point as impracticable as a German.

“Both men and women are handsome, and taller than the Muscovites; this name they hold in great contempt, as we had

several opportunities of observing. The procurator, a Pole by birth, the physician, the apothecary, both Germans, the master of the academy, and the post-master, being distinguished by their dress and nation from the Cossaks, seemed to have formed a *coterie* of their own, and to dislike and be disliked by the whole town. The post-master said they were much improved since he first came there; that at that time they would have pelted any stranger. We saw nothing of this kind, except that when we first landed from our bark, some boys cried out, 'Moscofsky canaille.' 'Canaille' has become a naturalized word in Russia.

"The internal government of Tcherkask is exercised, under the attaman, by a master of police and a chancery of four persons. The procurator, who is never a Cossak, exercises the offices of comptroller of their accounts, and visitor of the prisons and public buildings, and revises their judicial sentences. The master of police and, on some solemn occasions, the attaman is distinguished by a large staff, with a silver fillagree head, resembling that of a drum-major.

"The government of the armies of the Don (the legal style) differs in many respects from the ancient Malo-Russian, and has lately suffered repeated encroachments. The name of Cossak, which we heard variously explained, was most satisfactorily so by Platof, who said that 'coss,' which signified any crooked weapon, such as a scythe or sabre, was given them from the form of their swords. The present establishments are, one of about four thousand men who have lands near Charkof; a second on the Dnieper, but I could not learn in what part or in what number. In Poland is a third establishment of almost the same kind, which is, however, not so numerous; they are Mahomedans, of an ancient Nogay tribe, who have been settled there for some centuries, and still retain their religion and their habit of eating raw flesh. They were formerly taken into the Polish service as 'uhlands,' a Polish word merely signifying light-horse, and still keep their distinction and their privileges; they have the same allowance as the Cossaks and the same obligation to service. Fourthly, all over Siberia are



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scattered a multitude of barbarous Cossaks, who do the same duties, but whose allowances are less. Among them the people of the Yaik, since changed to Ural, were the most formidable supporters of Pugatchef. Fifthly, are the Zaporogians, but more of them hereafter. To return to the Cossaks of the Don; their territory, which is almost entirely pasture land, extends upwards of 350 versts in length, on both sides of the Don; in its widest part its extent may be 300; it is divided into stanitzas or cantons; for many stanitzas now contain more than a single village. To each of these a certain portion of land and fishery is allotted by government, and an annual allowance of corn from Voronetz and northwards according to the returned number of Cossaks. They are free from all taxes; even from those of salt and distilleries. The distribution of land to the individuals in each stanitzas is settled by the inhabitants and their attaman. This attaman was chosen by the people, and was both civil and military commander of the place. Paul had laid some restrictions on this right, which I could not understand, and took every other means of breaking their spirit. He had also ennobled the children of all who had the military rank of colonel, which was complained of as introducing an unconstitutional aristocracy. This step of establishing a hereditary nobility has been productive of very bad effects in taking away the military spirit of a government, where all were formerly equal, or had only a temporary, but absolute power, when elected officers. At present these new-made nobles affect to have several privileges in the service, and claim a constant preference in the succession to vacant commissions. From these attamans an appeal lies to the chancery at Tcherkask. They used to elect their attaman there, and to appeal to him only, assembling occasionally as a check on his conduct; but he is now appointed by the crown, and his power is greatly diminished. The allotment of land and fishery which each Cossak possesses may be let out by him to farm, and often is so; and it is a frequent abuse to insert the names of children in the return of Cossaks, to entitle them to their seniority in becoming officers. I met with a child thus favoured. This has taken

place since the Cossaks, when called out, have been formed into regular regiments, which has depressed entirely the power of the village attaman, by the introduction of colonels, captains, &c. Formerly the attaman was addressed in the emperor's mandates almost as an equal; he himself marched at the head of his stanitza; now he merely sends the required contingent, which is put under officers named by the crown.

“The Cossak, in consequence of his allowance, may be called on to serve for any term, not exceeding three years, in any part of the world, mounted, armed, and clothed at his own expence, and making good any deficiencies which may occur. Food, pay, and camp-equipage are furnished by government. Those who have served three years are not liable, or at least not usually called upon, to serve abroad, except on particular emergencies. They serve, however, in the cordon along the Caucasus, and in the duties of the police. After twenty years they become free from all service, except the home-duties of police, and assisting in the passage of the corn-barks over the shallows in the Don. After twenty-five years' service they are free entirely.

“The procurator declared the whole number of Cossaks liable to be called on for one or more of these services, amounted to 200,000. He acknowledged that as they would allow of no examination into their numbers, he spoke only from conjecture, and from the different allowances of corn, &c. occasionally made. The whole number of the male population he reckoned at half a million. The office of procurator has been often mentioned; he is a kind of comptroller or visitor, appointed to watch over the execution of the laws, to examine the decisions of the courts of justice, to visit the prisons, attend the executions, &c. He is generally a native of a different province from that wherein he is stationed. At Tcherkask he is always a Russian; at least not a Cossak. The situation of a Cossak is considered as comfortable; and their obligations to service are deemed well repaid by their privileges and their freedom. ‘Free as a Cossak’ is a proverb which we have often heard in Russia; and they are apparently much happier than the

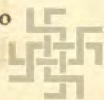


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other Russians. As troops I cannot conceive them good; they are no longer wild and warlike savages—they have lost their habits of Scythian warfare without acquiring discipline, and are now little better than peasants on horseback. When they have been some time in service they, of course, become like other troops, except that, by all accounts, they are more addicted to plunder. They have, however, a strong *esprit de corps*, and despise the Russians most cordially. The number of Cossak guards, who are all Donskoy, amounts to three regiments of a thousand each; the number employed in Persia and Caucasus I could not learn. In the year 1805, a corps of seventy-two regiments, of 560 men each, marched under Platof, the attaman of Tcherkask; but received counter-orders, as it did not arrive in time for the battle of Austerlitz. At Austerlitz only six hundred Cossak guards were present¹. These Cossaks, Platof said, had suffered dreadfully, as they were for some time the only cavalry with the Russian army; and before the emperor joined Kutusof, they had lost almost all their horses with fatigue. During the quarrel of Paul with England, he assembled 45,000 Cossaks, as it was believed at Tcherkask, to march to India. I saw the plan was not at all unpopular with Platof and his officers. Platof's predecessor was the last attaman who was in possession of all his ancient privileges. He had often, by his own authority, bound men hand and foot and thrown them into the Don. He was unexpectedly seized and carried off by the orders of the empress (Catherine), and was succeeded, as general of the armies of the Don, by Maffei Ivanovitch Platof, a fine civil old soldier, with the great cordon of St. Anne. Our hostess, the wife of an old Cossak major, told us that when a boy, Platof had kept his father-in-law's horses, and had been raised entirely from merit. This story was contradicted by Anton Josipovitsk, but of the two I am not sure whether the old woman was not most worthy of credit.

“ Education among the Cossaks is not so low as is generally

¹ The peasants near Austerlitz spoke of them as objects of considerable apprehension to the French cavalry; particularly the cuirassiers whose horses were more unwieldy.



thought, and it improves daily. All the children of officers are sent to the academy of Tcherkask, and learn French, German, &c. It was holiday time when we were there, but their progress was well spoken of.

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“ During our stay at Tcherkask we went out on a shooting party, which was ridiculous enough, as it chiefly consisted of a ramble among orchards and cabbage gardens, and shooting sparrows and field-fares. Our companions were the procurator and a Cossak captain; the former had some pointers and two very beautiful Turkish guns. This man was a Pole, and hated the Cossaks mortally; excepting the captain whom I have just mentioned, his whole society consisted of the man at the post-office, a Russian, an old Dutch physician, and a German apothecary. The Cossak captain was a very fine young man; he understood no language save his own, but had read a good deal, and was very well instructed as far as this would carry him.

“ We had heard the Cossaks charged with drunkenness and sloth, but had no reason to assent to this opinion, though we saw them during the licence of the Easter holidays. The procurator accused the old people among them of great coarseness and aversion to strangers; but he was evidently prejudiced against them. There was, perhaps, no great reason to wonder that, though a good-natured man, they had found no delight in courting his society.

“ The neighbourhood of Tcherkask is full of the sepulchral crosses raised over the tombs of the Roskolniki; this sect amounts to nearly a third of the Cossak population. I enquired several times how far they were tolerated, and was uniformly assured that they were not allowed the public exercise of their religion. About Voronetz we were told they are also numerous, and are there burdened with a double capitation tax. This we heard often, though it contradicts all I had been taught to think of Russian toleration. When we asked about their religious tenets, as we had only their enemies to inform us, we merely heard strange stories about their impiety and rebellions.

